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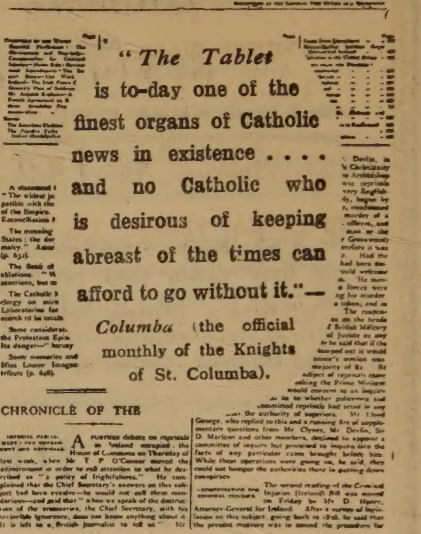
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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1929

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UR AND ABRAHAM

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ON the railway line from Baghdad to Basra, about 125 miles from Basra, there is a station called Ur Junction, and about a mile from the station lies a series of mounds which the natives call Tell-el-Muqayyar. These mounds mark the site of the original home of Abraham, " Ur of the Chaldees." El Muqayyar is on the right bank of the Euphrates, close to the point where the Shatt-el-Hai joins that river. The nearest town is Nasriyeh. When it first meets us in the native records of Babylonia Ur is one of the many Sumerian City States of Southern Babylonia. Like Egypt, ancient Babylonia was a country of two lands—a northern called Akkad, and a southern known as Sumer (or, better, Shumer). Whenever a ruler succeeded in making himself master of the whole country he called himself " King of Sumer and Akkad "—just as the Pharaoh used to call himself " Lord of the Two Lands." Sumer always precedes Akkad in this title—as if to suggest the greater antiquity of Sumerian civilisation. Akkad was mainly inhabited by people of the Semitic type who spoke a language closely allied to Hebrew. The Sumerians are difficult to classify ethnologically, and their language, which was agglutinative, has not yet been decisively associated with any linguistic group. It is now generally believed that the Sumerians developed the cuneiform script from its pictographic stage, and that to them most of the important aspects of Semitic civilisation in ancient Babylonia owed their inspiration. It is not quite clear, however, whether the Semite or the Sumerian was the first to occupy the Land between the Rivers; nor is it known by what

route, or routes, the Sumerians and Semites arrived in Sumer and Akkad.

The ancient history of Babylonia is comparatively well known. As we have for Egyptian history the Palermo Stone, the Turin Papyrus, the king-lists of Abydos and Sakkara, so we have for the re-construction of ancient Babylonian history a variety of material collected by native Babylonian scholars—dynastic lists, chronicles of various kinds, and the fragments of Berossus. Prominent among these sources are the dynastic lists.[1] These purport to give the names and centres of rule of the kings who reigned in Babylonia from the first " descent of royalty to earth " to the beginning of the second millennium B.C. The ancient kings fall into two groups—those who ruled before the " Deluge," and those who ruled after it. To the former, who are ten in number, reigns of enormous length are assigned. Ur is not mentioned among the pre-diluvian centres of rule, but it is named as the seat of the third post-diluvian dynasty. It is interesting to note that the reigns assigned to the kings of this First Dynasty of Ur differ from those of all the kings that precede them, in being of credible length. In this there was, perhaps, a hint of its historical character, but prior to the recent discovery, near Ur, of actual monuments of the Dynasty, it was generally regarded as mythical.

In the long list of dynasties and kings that follow the First Dynasty of Ur we can trace the rivalries and the changing fortunes of the Babylonian City States, and we can see, in particular, the steadily growing assimilation of Sumerian culture by the Semitic Akkadians, and the sure—though slow, and often interrupted—development of Semitic preponderance. Into the rivalries of the City States of Sumer and Akkad the king-list introduces at

[1] The most important text of the King-lists is the Weld-Blundell Prism (W.B. 444) published by Langdon in the *Oxford edition of Cuneiform Texts*, 1923. Another text dealing with the pre-diluvian period is W.B. 62—for which see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 256.

times outside factors—such as Elamites from the Persian side, or Amorites (Amurru) from the Syrian highlands, or Gutian raiders from the northern mountains, and sometimes these foreigners appear as dominating the whole country. The First Dynasty of Ur itself fell before invaders from Elam—the men of Awan. From Awan the sovereign power returned to Sumer, and after an interval of uncertain length Ur comes into power again as the eighth post-diluvian dynasty. Unfortunately, however, the royal names of this Second Dynasty of Ur have not been preserved. Then, after another interval which has been variously estimated, comes the first definite unification of Sumer and Akkad under a single ruler. This is a dynast of Erech with a Sumerian name —Lugalzaggisi—whose reign has been put about 2776-2752 B.C.[1] This unification was followed immediately by another which was Semitic with its centre in the city of Agade (Akkad). The author of this unification was Sargon of Agade (2751-2696). Of Sargon and his grandson, Naram-Sin (2671-2634), records survive in plenty, and from the time of the dynasty of Agade onwards it is possible to date with reasonable confidence the reigns of the king-list.

When the Sargonide Dynasty fell about 2518, there followed a period of chaos in Sumer and Akkad. Then there began a gradual restoration of Sumerian power and culture—first at Lagash, and then, about 2408, at Ur. For over a century (2408-2301) five kings of a Third Dynasty of Ur ruled over Babylonia, Elam, and the rising State of Assyria. Theirs was a genuinely imperial rule, as far-reaching as had been that of Sargon and Naram-Sin. The kings of the Third Dynasty were all great builders, canal-makers, and organisers of empire. Their piety to the gods they manifested by the erection

[1] The chronology adopted throughout this paper is that put forward by Langdon in his work *The Venus Tablets of Ammizadugga* (Oxford University Press, 1928). Langdon gives the dates of the three Dynasties of Ur thus: I., *circa* 3150-3000; II., *circa* 3000-2900; III., 2408-2301.

of temples, not only in Ur, but all over Babylonia, and even in Elam. About 2301 B.C. this dynasty fell before a simultaneous onslaught of Elamites in the south and of Amorites in the north. Ur was stormed and devastated by the Elamites, and the last king of the Third dynasty was carried away a captive to Elam.

Never again did a Sumerian Empire arise. For a couple of centuries the old City States—Isin, Larsa, Sippar, Kish—resumed their ancient feuds; but Ur, while still retaining a considerable political importance through its religious traditions, seems to have lapsed into a sort of military passivity. This period saw the rise of a new power in Babylonian affairs, the City State of Babylon. Here a fresh influx of Semites established a dynasty in 2169, and henceforth the contending powers in Babylonia are Babylon, Isin and Larsa. In 2110 an Elamite, Kudur-mabug, seized Larsa and set on its throne his son, Warad-Sin. For about seventy years the Elamites maintained a sort of overlordship over Babylonia. During this period the Elamite rulers in Larsa, Warad-Sin and his brother Rim-Sin, showed special benevolence towards Ur. Their names betoken their devotion to Sin, the moon-god of Ur, and to that devotion they gave practical shape by carrying out building and repairing work in the sanctuary of Ur. It is interesting to note that their sister held the office of High Priestess of Ningal at Ur.

It is to this period that the greatest activity of Sumerian scribes appears to have belonged, and part of that activity may have been the compiling of the King-list. If that is so, the concluding section of the list was compiled by men who were contemporaries of some of the reigns they describe.

In 2067 Hammurabi became king of Babylon, and though he claims to have defeated Rim-Sin of Larsa in his sixth year as king, he did not really overthrow him until 2038.

The political situation which existed between 2067 and 2038 thus implied an overlordship of Elam over all the old empire of Sargon of Agade (including the Gutians on the north, and the land of the Amurru on the west), with Larsa (Ellasar) and Babylon as the chief centres of power in Sumer and Akkad. This is exactly the political grouping presupposed in the narrative of Genesis 14—where an Elamite king with his vassals, the king of Ellasar (Larsa), Amraphel of Shinar (Hammurabi of Babylon), and Tidal, king of the Goiim (Gutians), wages war against outlying subjects of his empire. So precisely is the political constellation of the Larsa period reproduced in Genesis 14 that many scholars do not hesitate to take that chapter as proving that Abraham and Hammurabi were contemporaries. The probability of this view makes peculiarly interesting to the Biblical student everything that throws light on the Ur of the Larsa period.

In 2038 Hammurabi finally defeated Rim-Sin, and made himself lord of Sumer and Akkad. At Ur he set up a record of his achievements, and as far as can be seen, he left that city undisturbed. But about 2013, in the reign of Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna, Ur, having joined in a revolt against Babylon, was seized by the Babylonian king, who plundered its temples, destroyed a large part of its houses by fire, and razed its walls to the ground.

Though the name of Ur often appears in Babylonian texts of subsequent periods, and though kings from time to time showed their zeal for the temples of its sacred enclosure, the city practically disappears from the political life of Sumer and Akkad with the rise into power of Babylon. Thus its greatness would seem to have vanished about the time when Terakh and his family went forth to Kharran (Gen. 11, 31).

This outline of the history of Ur has been known to students for some time, and the importance of the mounds of Muqayyar might therefore seem to have demanded an

early excavation of the site. Apart, however, from very slight and ineffectual investigation of Muqqayyar made by Loftus in 1852 and by Taylor in 1853, no real attempt at excavation of the site was made until 1918. In that year Mr. R. Campbell Thompson made a cursory examination of the site, and in 1919 Mr. Hall excavated there for a short period. Since 1922 excavation-work has been carried on steadily at Ur, and at sites in its immediate neighbourhood, by a Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The work has been mainly under the direction of Mr. Leonard Woolley. It is still going on, and every now and then some striking find is announced in the Press. The Joint Expedition has excavated at Ur, and at a mound called Tell el'Obeid (Al 'Ubaid) about four miles west of Ur. An ancient cemetery at Diqdiqqah, about a mile and a half to the north-east of Ur, has also been examined. The only official publication of results hitherto made is a splendid volume by Hall and Woolley on the finds at 'Ubaid.[1] For details of the work done at Ur we have to depend on accounts published in the *Times*,[2] and on reports made to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Woolley which have appeared in the *Antiquaries' Journal*.[3] There has also just been published a popularly written history of the Sumerians by Woolley[4] which incorporates many of the more striking results of the excavations. From all these sources it is possible to get a fair notion of the range and importance of the new knowledge of ancient Ur that is now within our reach.

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[1] Hall and Woolley, *Ur Excavations. Vol. I. Al'Ubaid.* (Oxf. Univ. Press, 1927). The Royal inscriptions found at Ur have been published by Gadd and Legrain in *Ur Excavations. Texts.* I. *Royal Inscriptions*, (Published by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. 1928). A good account of recent excavation work in Babylonia is contained in Langdon's publication, *Die Ausgrabungen in Babylonian seit* 1918. Leipzig, 1928.

[2] *Times*, Jan. 4; Mar. 8; April 12; Dec. 16, 1927; Jan 12; Feb. 23; Mar. 13, 1928. Jan 11, 22, 1929.

[3] *Antiquaries' Journal:* Jan., Oct., 1925; Oct., 1926; Oct., 1927; Jan., 1928.

[4] Woolley, *The Sumerians.* (Clarendon Press, 1928).

At 'Ubaid were laid bare the remains of an ancient temple dedicated to the goddess Ninkhursag. A foundation-tablet was found in the temple bearing an archaic inscription to the effect that the temple was built by A-anni-padda, son of Mes-anni-padda, king of Ur. As Mes-anni-padda appears in the king-list as the first king of the First Dynasty of Ur, this remarkable inscription gives us a date for the temple of Ninkhursag, and transfers the First Dynasty of Ur from the twilight of legend into the clear day of history. It is true that the name of A-anni-padda does not appear among the First Dynasty kings of the king-list, but if the king-list loses slightly in prestige by this omission, it gains enormously by the confirmation which it receives from what is obviously a perfectly authentic inscription of the First Dynasty period. Besides, if we take the eighty years of reign assigned to Mesannipadda by the king-list as including also the reign of his son, the figure becomes much more intelligible. The discovery of this inscription proves that the Sumerian scholars of 2000 B.C. possessed reliable material for the history of a period of a thousand years before their own time. But if the early post-diluvian kings are historical, it is possible that even the kings of the pre-diluvian age, in spite of their fantastically long reigns, represent something vaguely genuine and real.

The temple of Ninkhursag at 'Ubaid was a comparatively ornate structure.[1] It had a porch with wooden columns overlaid with copper, or with a peculiar mosaic of mother-of-pearl, black shale, and bits of red limestone set in bitumen. The entrance to the Temple was flanked by life-size lions' heads, and over the entrance there was a relief in copper of astonishingly perfect craftsmanship, showing a lion-headed eagle—the god Imdugud—grasping with its talons two stags. The walls of the building were adorned outside with a row of copper

[1] See Illustration 10 in Woolley's *Sumerians* for reconstruction of façade, showing porch and friezes. Illustration 5 reproduces pastoral frieze.

bulls in the round, and with a frieze of copper bulls in relief. Above the copper frieze there were two other friezes of white limestone and shell inlay—the lower showing scenes of pastoral life, and the higher a row of birds. The inlay work is of surprising perfection. One at least of the copper bulls had hollow golden horns with a core of asphalt. The few inscriptions found in the ruins are of the archaic type which is otherwise known to have been in use about the beginning of the third millennium.

In Ur itself the Expedition has concentrated chiefly on the Sacred Enclosure. Even before the excavations began, the Zigurrat, or staged tower, could be clearly discerned among the ruins. The laying bare of this tower was one of the first ambitions and achievements of the digging at Ur. It has been found that the existing Zigurrat stands on the site of one much older. The lowest stage of the present tower was built by Ur-nammu, the first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur—as can be seen from the cones inscribed with his name which were found inserted in its walls. The Zigurrat had four stages; but, with the exception of the lowest, all are the work of Nabonidus, the last Chaldean king of Babylon (553-538). The Zigurrat of Ur is the best preserved tower of its kind, and all the details of its structure are now available to the architect. It is abundantly clear from this well-preserved specimen that the Sumerian staged tower, which was a feature of all Sumerian sacred enclosures, in its purpose and construction differed completely from the Pyramids of the Pharaohs—even from the "terraced" Pyramids of Medum and Sakkara. Woolley thinks that the three lower stages of the Zigurrat represent respectively the underworld, the earth, and the firmament of heaven—through which ascent must be made, as it were, to the fourth stage, the shrine of the god, or the House of Heaven itself.

The Zigurrat marked the position of the sacred enclosure, or temple-area—the Haram. This temenos,

or enclosure, of Ur bore the name Egishshirgal—a name which, though it occurs in previously known texts, now for the first time gets a precise meaning. The Egishshirgal walls as they exist were built by King Nebuchadnezzar. The enclosure is an irregular quadrangle, the corners of which are turned towards the cardinal points. The N.W. end is 823 feet in length; the S.E end 650 feet; the S.W. 1,312; and the N.E. end 1,246 feet. Within this immense quadrangle lie all the temple-remains of Ur.

The uppermost stage of the Zigurrat was probably a shrine of the chief god of the city—Nannar, or Sin, the moon-god, and of his consort, Ningal (the " Great Lady "). But both of these deities had other shrines in the Egishshirgal, and in the course of the excavations many of these have been laid bare. There is scarcely one of the sacred buildings which has not been rebuilt more than once—so that they serve as a sort of museum of Babylonian history. The cult of Nannar and Ningal, with its army of priests and servants, demanded innumerable store-houses, business offices, and residential quarters. All these were collected together in the sacred enclosure, and traces of many of them have been found.

Among the more important buildings excavated are the *E-nun-makh*, built by Nebuchadnezzar, a Ningal temple built by a late Assyrian governor of Ur, the *E-gi-par*, a convent-like residence for the High Priestess, the so-called " Wife of Nannar," and her associates, and in close connection with this latter the *E-dublal-makh*, a Hall of Justice. Most of the buildings of later date are restorations or reproductions of the earlier buildings, so that from the Egishshirgal of the Neo-Babylonian period we can form a notion of what it looked like more than a thousand years earlier. From the multitude of royal inscriptions found in the enclosure it would seem as if nearly every Babylonian dynasty of historic times contributed something, by building, or rebuilding, or repairing of shrines, or by votive offerings, to the greatness

of the sacred enclosure of Ur. In the Royal Inscriptions published by Gadd and Legrain we find represented—in addition to the various kings of Ur and Sumerian rulers of Lagash, Erech, and Isin-Semitic kings like Sargon and Nabonidus, Persians, like Kudur-mabug and Cyrus, and Indo-European Kassites. The shrine of the moon-god at Ur was, apparently, a sort of pilgrimage-place for the pious kings of Babylonia. Sargon of Agade (2751-2596) appointed his daughter High Priestess of Nannar and Ningal at Ur—as we know from her cylinder seal found in a cemetery in the Egishshirgal.[1] It is also known that Kudur-mabug who captured Larsa in 2100 B.C. appointed his daughter to the same position.[2] Nabonidus tells us that he also appointed his daughter—the sister of Belshazzar—High Priestess in Ur.[3] Nothing, perhaps, could better illustrate the enduring importance of the sanctuary of Ur than this ambition of kings separated by so many centuries to secure for their respective daughters the rank of High Priestess of Nannar and Ningal.

Among the finds made in the temple ruins one of the most interesting is a great stone stela of Ur-nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty, which was discovered in the *E-gi-par.*[4] Unfortunately the stela was broken, but reconstruction has shown that it was fifteen feet in height, and five feet wide. It is covered on both sides in bas relief with scenes of a religious character, many of which may have reference to the building of the Zigurrat. The relief work of the Ur-nammu stela is very perfect in finish, but it is equalled by a carving on a fragment of a limestone plaque found in the ancient cemetery of the Egishshirgal: the plaque shows a two-wheeled chariot drawn by asses—perhaps part of a funeral

[1] For the inscription on her seal, see Gadd and Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions*, No. 271. Her name was Enkheduanna.

[2] From a text of King Nabonidus pub., Clay. *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Collection*, No. 45.

[3] See text in *Revue Biblique*, July, 1928, p. 382f.

[4] Scenes from the Stela in Woolley, *Sumerians*, Illustration 1.

procession like those of which we see the dreadful ending in the Royal Tombs.

Within the walls of the existing enclosure, but outside the limits of the primitive temenos, Mr. Woolley found a cemetery which, when examined, proved to be superimposed on two other cemeteries. This triple cemetery has provided many of the most startling surprises of the excavations. The topmost and the middle cemeteries can be dated roughly by the objects which they contained. The seal of Sargon's daughter referred to above was found in the uppermost cemetery, so that we may date the graves of the top stratum in the Sargonide age (about 2750 B.C.). The middle cemetery seals are of a more archaic type than those of the Sargonide graves. Among them was a beautiful lapis lazuli seal belonging to Nin-dumu-nin, wife of Mesannipadda.[1] This gives us a further proof of the historical character of the First Dynasty of Ur, and serves to fix the date of the middle cemetery. According to Woolley, Nin-dumu-nin's seal marks the date of the latest burials of the middle stratum : its graves, he thinks, are, in general, older than the First Dynasty. There is no precise token of the age of the lowest burials, but, as the inscriptions which they contain are written in a semi-pictographic script, while those of the middle stratum are in fairly well developed cuneiform, it might be argued that a period sufficient for cuneiform to develop from pictographs lies between the lowest graves and those of the middle cemetery. Such a period, according to Woolley, can scarcely have been shorter than three or four centuries. Thus with 3100 B.C. as the final date of the middle graves, the burials in the lowest cemetery would be as ancient as 3500-3400 B.C.[2]

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[1] Woolley *Sumerians*, Illustration 20.

[2] The German Assyriologist, Weidner, refuses to accept Woolley's dating of the graves on the basis of script-forms : he would date most of the graves, including the Royal Tombs, between 2800 and 2500 B.C. See *Archiv fur Orientforschung*, IV., p. 212. Even in this view the Tombs are, after all, more than a thousand years older than the tomb of Tutankhamen.

There is an element of guess-work in all this, but in any view the lowest graves must be very ancient.

In the lowest cemetery the dead were laid in a simple grave, wrapped in matting: in the other two cemeteries we have this system of simple inhumation, but it is not so common as burial in a wicker-work coffin, or in a coffin of clay. In all three strata certain objects were buried with the dead—partly personal belongings, and partly such tools, weapons and vessels, and such other provision as the dead might require in the other world. These objects increase in number, value, and artistic excellence as we go down to the oldest graves.

Some of the graves are much more richly equipped than others. In many were found beautifully cut stone vases, bowls of copper, silver lamps, personal ornaments—such as diadems of gold or silver, ear-rings of gold, silver, or copper, finger-rings of silver or copper, long pins of silver, gold, or copper, weapons—such as copper axes, spears, arrow-heads, bows, etc. In some graves there were paints for the face and, perhaps, for the body—often in cockle-shells with daintily made silver lids. Reticules were common—little conical cases of gold or copper, containing usually a knife, a stiletto, a tweezers, and a spoon-shaped ear-scoop. These instruments were, as a rule, slung on a ring. In one grave both the reticule and the toilet instruments were of gold, and the reticule was decorated with spirals. Among the weapons there was found a wonderful dagger with blade of electrum, gold-studded lapis handle, and sheath of gold. With this must be ranked a gold helmet,[1] such as the king wears on the Stela of the Vultures, of the most exquisite workmanship, and a beautiful golden bowl, which were found in the grave of a prince called Mes-kalam-dug, in the lowest stratum. In their wealth of gold, electrum, silver, and such stones as lapis lazuli and carnelian,

[1] Woolley, *Sumerians*, Illustrations 9 and 15.

these graves of Ur rival the shaft-graves of Mycenae. The refinement of Sumerian civilisation and the volume of Sumerian trade in the fourth millennium which all this implies raise new problems and open up new vistas in proto-history. Evolutionary historians will find it difficult to explain why the grave-furniture tends to become more beautiful as the antiquity of the graves increases. Again, if the oldest graves are as early as the middle of the fourth millennium, the possibility of Sumerian influence in the development of proto-dynastic, and early dynastic Egypt must be seriously taken into account. On the other hand, the discovery in the middle cemetery of a rectangular stamp-seal with motifs of exactly the type shown by seals recently found at Mohenjo Daro in the Indus valley and at Harappa in the Punjab, raises a new set of questions as to the origin of Sumerian civilisation itself.

So far there has been question only of the graves of commoners, and, perhaps, princes. But last year Mr. Woolley found graves of a very different type. These consisted of a rectangular shaft, sometimes twelve metres by eight, of considerable depth, at the bottom of which was a tomb of stone or of stone and brick. In some tombs there were three chambers, and in one tomb at least the roof was constructed in the form of a genuine arch. Stone was not procurable at Ur. Yet in one of these tombs over 400 cubic metres of stone had been used. Obviously Mr. Woolley was right in inferring that these tombs are Royal graves, for no commoner could have controlled the wealth and labour required for the building of such elaborate tombs. Many of the tombs were rifled in ancient times, but sufficient material remains to give an idea of their furniture and arrangement. In general there is here the same kind of grave-equipment that was found in the early graves already described—personal belongings, and such objects as would be required in the

world beyond the grave.[1] But here, as the structures of stone and brick suggest, the idea of the grave as a " home " is more pronounced, and the king's tomb becomes a sort of replica of his palace. In this, perhaps, must be sought the reason for a very startling provision for the dead that is found in the Royal graves. The King was not left alone in death. The attendants who had formed his body-guard and harem, the oxen which had drawn his funeral-chariot to the tomb, the charioteers and the footman who had guided the chariot—were all found lying about their royal master or within reach of his call. The men of the body-guard still wore their helmets and shouldered their spears, the women were arrayed in their court regalia, with elaborate head-dresses and other ornaments. Evidently they had been struck down at the close of the funeral procession, that they might still continue to minister to their master in the " Great Land." The same cruel rite was carried out for a queen, named Shub-ad, whose gorgeous head-dress is one of the wonders of Ur.[2] Her women were found lying about her. Her harper was there also, with his arms still resting on the ruins of his harp. Her chariot and the two asses that had drawn it were also there.

In view of all this there can be no doubt about the presence in ancient Sumer of an intense belief in life after death. Yet, nowhere in Sumerian literature is there any hint of such funerary rites as the Royal tombs illustrate.

From very recently published accounts[3] of the excavations it appears that Royal tombs are still being discovered, and that the finds are becoming more splendid,

[1] See photographs of some of the golden vases found in the Royal Tombs in Woolley, *Sumerians*, Illustration 12. A very extraordinary shell-plaque, engraved with mythological scenes, which may have been portion of the decoration of a harp, was found in one of the Royal Tombs : it is shown in *Sumerians*, Illustration 11.

[2] See Woolley, *Sumerians*, Illustration 3, for a reproduction of Shub-ad's head-dress. In Illustration 6 there is a reproduction of her harp.

[3] The *Times*, Jan. 11 and 22, 1929.

and continue to be no less gruesome. In one tomb forty-five bodies of attendants were found, thirty-nine of which were bodies of women. These women were more magnificently attired than any hitherto exhumed. Their head-dresses are only slightly less gorgeous than that of Queen Shub-ad herself. In this tomb there were several fine harps, and two statues of rams with heads and legs of gold, and bodies partly of shell, partly of silver.

Apparently Mr. Woolley has recently found in the Tombs traces of periodical celebrations of memorial rites, and possibly of periodical sacrifices to the Royal dead.[1] He seems to think also that the Royal graves were surmounted by a visible structure in brick. This would suggest a burial system resembling that of the Old Kingdom mastabas in Egypt.

It has been so far impossible to identify or accurately to date the occupants of the Royal tombs. Among them is king Mes-kalam-dug—possibly a relative of Mes-kalam-dug of the golden helmet; and the name of another king (perhaps the husband of Shub-ad) has been read as A-bar-gi. It may be that these were kings of the Second Dynasty of Ur—but that is nothing more than a possibility. All that is quite clear is that the Royal tombs supply an incontrovertible testimony to the ancient Sumerian belief in life after death, and that they belong to a period of high perfection in Sumerian art.

Some excavation-work has also been done in the residential quarters of Ur. Several houses of the Larsa period have been uncovered, and here again surprises awaited the diggers. Instead of mud-built one-storey houses, fine brick houses of two storeys, comparable in plan and general construction to the residences of better-class people in modern Baghdad, were found.[2] A typical specimen of these houses had seven apartments on

[1] This would make the resemblance of the Sumerian burial rites to the Scythian customs recorded by Herodotus (iv. 71) very striking.

[2] For the reconstruction of one of the houses see Woolley, *Sumerians*, Illustration 26.

the ground-floor—reception-room, kitchen, lavatory, entrance-lobby, "chapel," and two unidentified rooms, probably servants' quarters. The family, apparently, lived in the second storey rooms. These all opened out on a wooden balcony which communicated by a brick staircase with the ground-floor. It was the custom to bury the dead of the house under the "chapel." In some doorways were found the remains of genuine arches, so that Mr. Woolley is convinced that the arch was freely used in all the architecture, public as well as private, of the time. In the houses were quantities of inscribed tablets containing hymns, Sumero-Akkadian vocabularies, mathematical tables, copies of royal inscriptions, details of business matters, etc. The Larsa period was evidently a distinctly literary period, and the composition of the king-lists is reasonably ascribed to that time.

The whole quarter examined bears the traces of a terrible destruction by fire and of looting—which, apparently, extended to the whole city. This may well have happened when Samsu-iluna punished Ur for its revolt (about 2013 B.C.).

If, as is likely, Abraham lived at Ur in the Larsa period, he must have been familiar with the houses which have been excavated. He knew the Egishshirgal, and must have often seen performed there the splendid ritual of Nannar worship. Living at a time of literary activity, in a city whose memories of wealth, and power, and artistic glory were immensely ancient, Abraham must have been something quite different from the rude, half-nomad cattle-king which scholars of recent date were accustomed to make him. His comrades and clansmen no doubt took part in the cult of Nannar, for they were idolaters,[1] and probably peculiarly sympathetic toward moon-worship. It is curiously interesting to note that the name of Abraham's wife, Sara ("princess"), is the same as a well-known epithet of Ningal—

[1] Josue XXIV., 2; Judith V., 5-8.

sharratu; and that the wife of Nakhor, the brother of Abraham, was probably Malkah, which is the same as the epithet of Ishtar—*malkatu* ("queen"). Another hint of moon-cult among Abraham's kinsmen is the name Laban, for the poetic name of the moon in Hebrew is "Lebanah," "the white one."

It is possible that sympathy with the moon-cult of Ur influenced the settling there of the tribal group to which Abraham belonged. If the designation of Ur as "Ur of the Chaldees" is not an anticipation of the position of Ur in the eighth or seventh century B.C., but a hint that Ur had a fairly large Chaldean population in the days of Abraham, it implies nothing improbable. The *Kaldu* (Chaldeans) appear in the later history of Babylonia as more or less settled tribes occupying districts of southern Babylonia near the Persian Gulf, and along the desert border; and as there is no record of their arrival there, there is no good reason for supposing that tribal groups of the *Kaldu* type could not have occupied districts near Ur at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

According to Genesis Abraham went forth from Ur to Kharran at the command of God,[1] but the going forth of his clansmen with him was probably due largely to other reasons. During the struggles of Isin, Babylon, and Larsa towards the close of the third millennium, Ur must at times have suffered severely. Besides, it is possible that the threatening growth of a new Semitic power at Babylon may have rendered the sojourn at Ur of a Semitic group like the kinsmen of Abraham, very difficult. Economic and political reasons would direct them towards the Semitic country of the north west. Kharran of Mesopotamia lay on the great highway which led from Mesopotamia to Syria. Kharran is the Assyrian word *kharranu*, which means "route," or "highway"; and Kharran appears in the cuneiform inscriptions as a sort of inevitable halting-place for armies, or other

[1] Gen. XI., 31; XV., 17.

great groups, marching from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and from Assyria to Hittite Syria. In the neighbourhood of Kharran the kinsmen of Abraham not merely halted, but settled. If in the Biblical narrative we read Paddan of Aram in contexts where we should naturally expect to find a reference to Kharran,[1] the reason is that Paddan is the Assyrian *paddanu*, road, or highway, so that Kharran and Paddan are the same. Paddan is the centre of the country which is called in Genesis Aram of the Two Rivers, the country of Nakhor, Abraham's brother.[2] That Abraham's people should make for, and settle in Aram becomes easily intelligible when we remember that Arameans (the descendants or people of Aram) and Chaldeans were of kindred stock. Genesis makes Nakhor the father of Kesed (that is Kaldu, the eponym of the Chaldeans) and the grandfather of Aram,[3] thus making the Arameans and Chaldeans nearly related groups, and Abraham a close kinsman of both. Genesis is insistent on the Aramean character of Abraham's relatives.[4] In later Babylonian history, from the eighth century B.C. onwards, we frequently find the *Aramu* (Arameans) and the *Kaldu* (Chaldeans) fighting side by side, as kinsmen against a common foe. In texts of an earlier period we find the Aramu identified with a group called the *Akhlamu* ("confederates"),[5] and as we find the *Akhlamu* spoken of in texts of Naram-Sin's time as occupying a district corresponding roughly to what Genesis calls Aram of the Two Rivers, we are justified in maintaining that the

[1] Gen. XXVIII., 1-2; 5-7; XXXI., 18; XXXV., 9, 26; XLVI., 15.

[2] Gen. XXIV., 10.

[3] Gen. XXII., 20f. Kesed represents a primitive *Kasdu*, and as in Assyrian *s* or *sh* before a dental often passes into *l*, *Kasdu* is the equivalent of the Assyrian *Kaldu*.

[4] Cf. Gen. XXV., 20; XXVIII., 5; XXXI., 20, 24. Cf. also Dent XXVI., 5.

[5] So Dhorme proposes to explain the name—taking as cognate with the Arabic *khilm*, "comrade"—plur *akhlam*. If *Khabiru* also means "confedrate" as has been suggested, we can take the very ancient references to the *Khabiru* as, perhaps, by implication, references to the *Athlamu*. Perhaps in the identity of *Khabiru* and *Akhlamu* lies the explanation of the epithet "Hebrew" given to Abraham in Gen. XIV., 13.

Arameans were settled in north western Mesopotamia even in Abraham's time. Thus, on arriving in Kharran the family of Abraham would find itself among blood relations.

The migration of Terakh and his clansmen from Ur to Paddan of Aram is thus easily accounted for on grounds of racial connection. It may be possible to find in that migration itself the explanation of an important aspect of the city of Kharran. Kharran is known in Babylonian history as the second great seat of moon-worship. Only at Ur and Kharran was there an elaborate cult of Sin, or Nannar, the moon-god. The details of moon-worship at Kharran have been known for some time from the cuneiform texts, and these details are now found to agree fully with all the features of the moon-cult at Ur, as revealed by the excavations. This has led to the hypothesis that the moon-worship of Kharran was introduced there by a group that migrated from Ur, and that that group consisted of Terakh and his kinsmen. This is an interesting hypothesis,[1] but it cannot be examined here. It will serve, however, as an illustration of the way in which the excavations at Ur may come to influence theories of early Biblical history.

P. Boylan.

[1] This hypothesis is worked out in learned detail, in a series of articles which Père Dhorme has been publishing in the *Revue Biblique*. The series is called *Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire*. Two articles have appeared—July, 1928, pp. 367-385, and October, 1928, pp. 481-511. Père Dhorme has brought together in these articles the references to the *Aramu* and the *Kaldu* in the cuneiform texts.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF O'CONNELL'S EARLY LIFE

I.—His Deistic Tendencies

BY CONSTANTINE P. CURRAN, M.A.

ATTENTION was first drawn to O'Connell's Journal when Father Russell published substantial extracts from it in the *Irish Monthly* of 1882. Mr. Arthur Houston edited the entire Journal in 1906, stressing its real significance without perhaps unfolding all its implications. The Journal has not received the attention it deserves from later writers. Lecky, even in his revised edition of 1903, makes no mention of it, and passes over O'Connell's early life in London in a single sentence. Yet for anyone who wishes to understand his development O'Connell's own record of his early life is of the first importance. There were three formative periods in his life : his youth in Kerry and in France, his London adolescence, and his early manhood in Dublin from 1796 to 1802. Voices of liberty spoke to him from the mountains and sea at Derrynane, from the old friar's skull cleft by a Cromwellian sword, and in the talk about his father's table of Grattan, Flood and Charlemont. But neither in the feudal life of Carhen and Darrynane nor in the French seminaries was he likely to have learned the democratic principles which, in the event, made him remarkable. Kerry or Douai left no trace in the Journal except a sense of mountain liberty, a passion with him rather than a principle. We have in the Journal, and this is what makes it significant, no other sign of instinctive and traditional influences.

What we have in the Journal are the voluntary activities of O'Connell's mind when it was at its most acquisitive. In London he was a student of law, history, and political science, but reading as well, as young men will, some philosophy, physical science and poetry. Men at best, even the indefatigable O'Connell absorbed in

law and politics, do little more than lay out with what profit they can the intellectual stock accumulated in early manhood. The Journal records this accumulation. In desultory entries[1] he registers and reflects upon his serious reading, giving expression at the same time to his feelings and opinions in the grave and self-conscious fashion of youth. The Journal must be read as the pyschological chart of a young man of genius, swift-minded and ardent, who is passing through his inevitable *Sturm und Drang* years in sympathy with a moment of history when the world itself seemed to be renewing a stormy youth. There is nothing, therefore, surprising in the two conclusions forced upon the reader of this Journal :—(1) That O'Connell shared so fully the revolutionary ideas current in the London radical clubs that his Christian faith was for some years seriously shaken or overthrown ; and (2) that his London experience taught him not merely the political principles, but also many of the political tactics which he applied in Ireland.

What was the atmosphere in which O'Connell found himself when he arrived in London early in 1793 ? The first movement for the reform of Parliament had collapsed with the dissolution of the Rockingham Whigs in the Fox-North coalition of 1784. Had it succeeded, the subsequent revolutionary fires might have been confined, even on the Continent, to a few rubbish heaps. When the Reform movement revived in the clubs of 1790 it moved in five years, under Jacobin stimulus, through radicalism into revolution. Two characteristics distinguished it from its earlier form. It was strongly anti-Establishment, the reformers joining hands with the Nonconformists who were disabled by the Test and Corporation Acts. It was even more strongly democratic.

[1] The Journal is mutilated and irregularly kept. Beginning about October, 1795, there are no entries from February to December, 1796, the year of his return to Ireland. Entries are made in 1797 from January to May, and in 1798 in January and December only. Two entries in 1799 and three in 1802 in the month of his marriage close the journal.

New popular forces moved into politics convinced of the rights of man as expounded by Tom Paine, the rebellious stay-maker, and by Thomas Hardy, the radical shoemaker.

Already in 1780 the short-lived Society for Constitutional Information had sent out feelers towards mechanics and artisans. This society was revived late in 1791, with a membership from the intelligentsia, including in its first members Romney the painter, Thomas Holcroft the dramatist, and Horne Tooke. It helped to circulate Paine's *Rights of Man* and quickly developed a Committee for Foreign Correspondence, imitating in this the revolutionary propaganda of the continental *illuminati.* In both these activities it was anticipated and surpassed by the more popular London Corresponding Society, founded early in 1791 by Thomas Hardy and four men in an alehouse. This Society, the first political workingman's club, had a very numerous membership, with a shilling entrance fee and a subscription of a penny a week—conditions which would have pained Rockingham. Its bible was *The Rights of Man,* of which the first part had just been published. The popularity of this work was immense, and its circulation was vigorously promoted by the propaganda of these societies, aided by Chauvelin, the French ambassador. It was distributed as well, Mr. Rose states, in Welsh, Gaelic and Erse. This propaganda, which included thirty-eight replies to Burke, was in fair way of supplanting the anti-French feeling to which violent and state-aided expression had been given in this year in London and Birmingham. Dumouriez's victory at Jemappes, 1792, was celebrated by a great procession at Sheffield, where the society numbered 50,000 adherents. The clubs sent 1,000 pairs of shoes to his army, with promise of 1,000 a week more for six weeks.

But the victory, decisive for the French, was ultimately decisive in forcing Pitt's hand. Hitherto he had been coldly neutral, seeking advantage against his rivals,

Prussia and Austria. In January, 1790, he looked forward philosophically to "the present convulsions in France culminating in general harmony." In 1791 this attitude gave its particular spice to the *comédie auguste* of the Pilnitz declaration. He was indifferent to Burke's agitation: "Britain had nothing to fear from Jacobin propaganda." He even said that Paine was no fool and was perhaps right, though he had bandits behind him. But when the French, encouraged by Jemappes, invaded the Low Countries and killed the king, he was forced into war. In 1793 his repressive measures began at home. He commenced in Scotland with the trial and conviction of Muir, followed by the Gerrald and Sinclair trials, which were disfigured by the ferocity of McQueen of Braxfield, Lord Justice Clerk. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and in 1794 the unsuccessful and unfair proceedings against Thomas Hardy and the committee of the London Corresponding Society were started.

Ireland, where the new white terror was also beginning, was intimately associated with these doings. The United Irishmen were in correspondence both with France and with the Scotch and English clubs. The plan of sending delegates to National Conventions which would dwarf the unrepresentative Parliament was already mooted in the English society. Irish representatives, Hamilton Rowan and Simon Butler,[1] attended the Edinburgh Convention of 1793; and at a later stage Evans and Binns, leading members of the London Corresponding Society, founded the United Englishmen on the Irish model, and having been sent as delegates to Dublin were arrested with Father O'Coigly in 1798.[2]

Into this ferment O'Connell was flung in 1793, a youth of eighteen. His son reports him as saying that he returned

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[1] The Hon. Simon Butler presided at the foundation meeting of the Dublin United Irishmen, in the "Eagle," Eustace Street, November, 1791.

[2] *Pitt and the Great War*, by J. Holland Rose. *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill*, by J. R. M. Butler. *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII.

from France "almost a Tory." Upon this slender admission, made at a later date, something too much has been built. Events in France, leading to his virtual expulsion, must have moved him; but it is certain from the contemporary evidence of the Journal and his later statements that whatever Tory sentiments he entertained were cancelled in 1794 by his attendance at the trials of Hardy, Holcroft and Horne Tooke. These trials were an attempt to buttress up with a verdict the conclusions of conspiracy to which Pitt and Dundas had come at a preliminary examination before the Privy Council. The Government had said there was treason and had to produce traitors. The young law student watched John Scott, the future Chancellor Lord Eldon, [1] confronted by Erskine, who had already defended Paine in 1792, and echoes both of Paine's principles and of Erskine's advocacy have been detected in O'Connell's defence of Magee, the printer. He saw the Government, without charging any definite acts, seeking to overwhelm the defendants with the unsifted evidence of spies. He heard Chief Justice Eyre forcing the widest constructive interpretation upon the law of high treason, and compared his charge with Godwin's defence. This was O'Connell's introduction to law and to the operation of Government. It swept away what rags of Toryism still clung to him and determined the spirit of the Journal which he began the next year. Without this evidence, one might surmise that the new wine of liberty would go as quickly to the head of this young man, who still remembered the mountains about Darrynane, as it went to Wordsworth's. Generous youth is partial to revolution, and at such moments law is as dangerous a study as most others. Even if O'Connell were wholly a lawyer, which he was not, one remembers Balzac's saying: "Chaque notaire

[1] Whom Sydney Smith called the most heartless, bigoted and mischievous of human beings, who passed a long life in perpetuating all sorts of abuses and in making money of them.

porte en soi le débris d'un poète." And it may also be recalled that to Haydon, painting his portrait in later years, O'Connell seemed to have "a natural poetry about his mind that renders him interesting."[1] The surprising thing would be to discover contemporary evidence that he did not share the timely passions of youth. In any event the Journal establishes his absorption for many years in the radical, deistic thought of his day. Let us look at the Journal.

It is very largely, as I have said, a record of his serious reading. " I may here remark," he writes at the beginning, " that I do not intend to mention everything I read. I conceive the trifling productions of the day unworthy my notice." We may fairly take the omissions, therefore, to be in themselves significant, and the omissions include all expresssly Christian literature, save only the Bible and one sermon of Blair. Nor does Burke occur, except in so far as the compiler of the *Manual of Liberty* judiciously admits certain passages. Mr. Houston in his edition of the Journal has conveniently classified the works which O'Connell mentions. They include rather more poetry than law, but not much of either: four novels, one of them Godwin's *Caleb Williams* and the other *The Adventures of Hugh Trevor*, written by Thomas Holcroft, the radical; seven biographies, of which Rousseau's *Confessions*, Condorcet's *Turgot*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Boswell's *Johnson* are the chief. (Johnson's is " a strong mind clouded with many prejudices "). Gibbon, whom he reads attentively throughout, is the important entry in the history section. Natural science includes Buffon and some astronomy, and political science and theology conclude the list. These latter two are the critical sections, and I give all the authors: Adam Smith, Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, Godwin, Mary Wolstonecraft, with the

[1] Fortunately—for, as Lytton Strachey observes in relation to Bacon, it is probably always disastrous not to be a poet.

Manual of Liberty,[1] the *Rolliad*, *Utrum Horum* (an anti-ministerial pamphlet), Colquhoun's *Police of London* and *The Jockey Club*. Theology is made up of the Bible, a sermon of Dr. Blair, Paine's *Age of Reason*, the *Recueil Nécessaire*, *Zapata's Questions*.[2] Bayle's *Dictionnaire Philosophique* and the *Encyclopédie* conclude the list. Since Paine's *Age of Reason* is a deist's attack on the Bible, which argues the incongruity of the Christian scheme with the evidence of astronomy, one may not unfairly ascribe O'Connell's study of the Bible and astronomy to the influence of Paine's work.

The exclusive character of this reading is, in itself, evidence of the lines upon which the student was developing. It is the typical library of an English deist. The deistic position is continually assumed. Three names recur most frequently in the Journal, and always with enthusiastic praise: Gibbon, the sceptic; Godwin, the philosophic anarchist; and Paine, the revolutionary deist. He reads the *Decline and Fall* through and finds it "an extraordinary, an admirable work. The genius, the critical acumen, the laborious research of the author are unrivalled. He has mended my style; he has improved my thoughts; he has enriched my memory." He admires Godwin's *Political Justice* "more, beyond comparison more than anything I ever met with. It has enlarged and strengthened my understanding and infused into my mind a serenity never before enjoyed. . . . His work cannot be too highly praised. All mankind are indebted to the author. The cause of despotism never met a more formidable adversary." But when he sums up his opinion of Paine's *Age of Reason*, we find the clear impression given to the deism which seems to have supplanted his Catholic belief:—

January 19, 1796.—I this day finished the second part of

[1] A compilation from Godwin, Burke, Rousseau, Voltaire, Machiavelli, etc.

[2] The *Recueil Nécessaire* is a collection from Rousseau and the French freethinkers, Dialogue between a Sceptic and a Believer, etc. *Zapata's Questions* is a pseudonymous satire by Voltaire.

The Age of Reason. This part has given me more satisfaction than the former. It has put the foundation of the religious question of the Christians in a point of view in which a judgement is easily formed on its solidity. I now have no doubts on this head. I may certainly be mistaken. But I am not wilfully mistaken, if the expression has any meaning. My mistakes I refer to the mercy of that Being who is wise by excellence. To the God of nature do I turn my heart; to the meditation of His works I turn my thoughts. In Him do I find my soul saturated. He will not, justice tells me, punish for a darkness, if such it be, that cannot be removed; He will not punish for the unbiassed conviction of the soul. To affirm the contrary would, in my apprehension, be to calumniate.

These opinions, expressed in the course of his reading, are confirmed by other entries in the Journal. Already in its second month Mrs. Hunter, his perspicacious fellow-lodger at Mrs. Rigby's, desires him to insert an observation of her daughter, to whom he reads aloud—" that in fifty years I would doubt whether I was a man or a cabbage stump, so much was I inclined to scepticism." The language and spirit of the Journal are throughout deistic. One expects to find and would naturally discount the vocabulary of the *philosophes* in any document of this period; but it is here not a matter of language but of principles and positions stated. They are uniformly deistic and antichristian. Religion blinds men by prejudice, and persuades them to evil. The familiar Lucretian quotation is made. Christianity has had her millions of victims. Oh, Religion, how much have mankind suffered to thee. The hue and cry is raised against the man who dares to investigate the claims of those principles, as they are called, which have caused the destruction of empires. Truth is disagreeable. Twice he contemplates suicide. A brother dies and a friend of his youth. There is no Christian invocation, their particles are absorbed in the elements to which they belonged. Thought and language are indistinguishable from Godwin or Shelley.

In January, 1796, O'Connell had finished his reading

both of Godwin's *Political Justice* and of Paine's *Age of Reason*. His mind was still running on the religious issue. I quote another extract of this date :—

Wednesday, January 20th, 1796.—Religious subjects engross much of my attention. The prejudices of childhood and youth at times frighten and shake the firmness of my soul. These fears, these doubts perhaps imply a libel on the First Cause, the Great Spirit who created the planetary systems that roll around. It is impossible that He whose justice is perfect should punish with eternal torments the belief which is founded on conviction. It appears impossible because the conviction of the mind does not depend on us. We cannot prevent, we cannot change, the belief that our souls form on the perceptions of the senses. Again, these perceptions are not in our power. We receive impressions from the surrounding objects, notwithstanding all our efforts to the contrary. It would in fact be as absurd and criminal to say that the Great Spirit would punish me for not believing that it is *now* noon as to affirm that he would inflict tortures for not believing another proposition the belief of which is equally impossible.

He comes to Dublin in the spring of 1796, and there are no more entries until December. From the subsequent entries it will be observed that the nature of his reading changes, taking a more historical and scientific direction. He had either exhausted or lost interest in religious controversy, or perhaps the books in the Eustace Street Library did not feed it. His position had not wholly changed in January, 1797, as is shown by the following :—

January 7th, 1797.—I will endeavour to make the narrow circle of my friends happy, I will endeavour to give cheerfulness and ease to the peasantry over whom I may command, I will endeavour to give liberty to my country, and I will endeavour to increase the portion of the knowledge and virtue of humankind. Oh, Eternal Being, Thou seest the purity of my heart, the sincerity of my promises. Should I appear before your august tribunal after having performed them, shall I not be entitled to call for my reward ? *Will the omission of a superstitious action, will the disbelief of an unreasonable dogma,* that day rise in judgment against me ? Oh, God, how hast Thou been calumniated !

The allusion to some point of Catholic practice and

belief suggests a definite religious experience and sets one speculating upon the agency or cause. O'Connell was ambitious, and many men in Ireland have sought advancement under the cloak of religious zeal. Such mean considerations may in this case be instantly pushed aside. O'Connell's life from 1802 was the life not merely of a good but in some respects of an heroic Catholic. Of the solidity of his faith and his profound personal attachment to its practice there is no room for doubt. Its most touching written expression, to my mind, is to be found in the two letters written to his daughter in 1839, when she was passing through a religious crisis.[1] These are letters that would only be written by an understanding Catholic, and there is in them an echo of the *Sturm und Drang* of his own youth. Politics had certainly nothing to do with the change in his religious views. His political career was assured without it. At any time he would have prosecuted his agitation for Repeal at least as eagerly as his movement for Emancipation. Neither do I think that his family had much to do with it. So far as one may judge from the Journal his relations with Darrynane were often strained, and he got and needed little guidance from them. No doubt the Irish atmosphere counted for much, but his marriage in 1802 was still more decisive, if not conclusive; for it is hardly possible to overstate the influence of his tenderly loved wife beneficially exerted at every point of his career.

But there is another factor appearing in the Journal precisely at the date of the last quoted significant extract to which I think attention has not hitherto been directed. We find in December 3, 1796, that he begins a letter to his cousin, Henry Baldwin, a letter apparently of some length or importance, because we find that he finishes it only on the 8th. On the 13th he notes: "I received a letter from Henry Baldwin yesterday advising me to go to confession to Mr. Beattie, a Jesuit, etc., etc.," which

[1] Fitzpatrick's Correspondence, Vol. II., pp. 187-189.

makes it plain that his own letter dealt with religious matters; and on the same day he says that he heard Mass on the Sunday before. This is the first reference in the Journal to a religious observance and the first entry of a Catholic nature. Mr. Beattie, the Jesuit, is of course the celebrated Father Betagh to whom directly and indirectly Catholic education in Ireland owes so much. He had been professor of philosophy in Metz, and on the dissolution of the Society of Jesus had returned to Ireland. He was a preacher of genuine eloquence. I quote from an article written on his death in 1811 (*Hibernian Magazine*) :

> Many are now living in Dublin who have been won to the Catholic religion by the benign spirit of Christian charity which dictated all his exhortation. . . . The points of controversial disputation he understood perhaps as well as any divine on earth, yet never did he in polemical discourse disgust the philanthropist by acrimonious reproach nor did he seek to terrify the ignorant by bitter denunciations. . . . He loved Ireland with an ardent affection.

The entry I have quoted of January, 1797, shows that the interview with Father Betagh, if indeed it took place, did not immediately operate a conversion; but the conjunction indicates a critical date, and under the language of an obituary we may recognise a character admirably adapted to assist O'Connell. For the present we may leave it at that. Religion and liberty at one time seemed to him to be natural enemies. He found in Ireland the means of reconciling them in the face of a common foe. By the grace of God he passed through a crisis common to his age, occupation and generation. His experience in this respect does not differ from other great Catholic apologists of the period. De Maistre himself was denounced to the court in his youth as a dangerous spirit inclined to novelty and was member for some time of a *loge reformée*. Görres was an enthusiast for the new revolutionary ideas. Ozanam's studious youth was "haunted," as he says, by "the horror of those doubts

that eat into the heart" when "the sacred dogmas seemed to break within my grasp"; and Lacordaire was equally the child of a sceptical age. O'Connell came through these turbulent years with his ideas on religion and liberty clarified and reconciled. He was as convinced as Montalembert that political liberty is the safeguard and instrument of Catholic regeneration in Europe. The application of this conviction, startling at the time, excited as much the surprise of a Duvergier as the admiration of a Montalembert. These experiences also determined his friendly attitude towards Dissenters, made political co-operation with them easy, and gave him an understanding of differences in religious opinion. As late as 1840 we find him reprobating to Dr. MacHale any spirit of political ascendancy, whether Catholic or sectarian. His objection was absolute and not relative to the contemporary position of Catholics. It was not a merely expedient expression of opinion, and revival of that spirit in the centenary year is alien to O'Connell's mind.

Turning now to the political aspect, it can be argued with equal force that O'Connell learned both the principles and machinery of democratic politics in London. His Reform programme set out in 1830 was the basis of that long collaboration with the Whigs which has exposed him to much and not wholly unjust criticism. What is more interesting and has not, I think, been so far adverted to is that his practical intelligence borrowed from the London Corresponding Society and the radical clubs the methods of democratic agitation. When O'Connell burst up the aristocratic domination of the Catholic Board and isolated the Cork gentlemen who adopted "the wise principle of the Constitution by which Property is made the Standard of Opinion," he had to find a popular fulcrum for the work in progress. His device of the Catholic Rent of one penny a month shocked respectable opinion both here and amongst the English Catholics. It was simply the Irish

application of the London Corresponding Society's finance which required an entrance fee of one shilling and a weekly subscription of one penny. The reading circles which O'Connell supported were an essential feature of the English radical propaganda. So also were the processions and mass meetings. The Sheffield procession, 10,000 strong in celebration of Jemappes, has already been mentioned. Mass meetings of the Sheffield clubs were held at Chalk Farm and Castle Hill. Norwich was similarly active. Other monster meetings were held at Marylebone Fields ; and the Islington meeting, at which Binns is said to have presided over 150,000 people, rivals O'Connell's monstrous aggregates. O'Connell may well have attended these meetings in 1795. He was then at his most fervent radical heat, and indeed only escaped being cut down by a dragoon at an affray in the same month in St. James's Park. Finally, the political device of the Convention was familiar to his London as well as to his early Dublin experience, and no doubt he saw its full significance. Conventions representing (as some radicals boasted) 700,000 or 800,000 men, when developed to their logical conclusion, would rival the authority of Westminster. In Ireland assuredly they would obliterate the moral authority of the clique Parliament in College Green, as Dáil Eireann eventually extinguished the moral authority of Westminster. O'Connell, no doubt, perceived this possibility. But so also did Pitt, and he passed the Convention Act.

. . . . . .

Gillray published a caricature of the Tree of Liberty in 1798. Around the cap of liberty branches of the Rights of Man bear a queer variety of apples labelled Reform, Conspiracy, Plunder, Democracy, Treason, Corresponding Society, Whig Club, Atheism, Deism, The Age of Reason. From 1793 O'Connell ate of the good and evil fruits of that tree. He also made careful cuttings to plant at home.

C. P. Curran.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF O'CONNELL'S EARLY LIFE

II.—The Catholic Democrat, 1790-1815

BY DENIS GWYNN.

DANIEL O'CONNELL'S life-long association with the Catholic agitation in Ireland has become so much a matter of political history that the religious aspect of his life has been generally overlooked. Yet in fact, Daniel O'Connell was a much more devout Catholic than most Catholics in Ireland were during the earlier part of his life; and in view of his early political associations it would scarcely have been surprising if he had been little more than a Catholic in name. In politics he broke away very definitely from the attitude of his own family; and as a young man he adopted political views which scandalised both his uncle Maurice, who had adopted him as his heir, and his uncle Count O'Connell of the Irish Brigade, who was chiefly responsible for his schooling in France and for his first studies as a law student in London. In becoming an ardent democrat while the French Revolution was in progress, he submitted himself to the influence of political and social doctrines which were usually connected with attacks upon Catholicism. And even when he began to devote himself to the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, many of his associates in the movement were little more than nominal Catholics.

To assume that Ireland in O'Connell's youth was as strongly Catholic as it became later on, is entirely contrary to the evidence. Wolfe Tone's autobiography throws much light on the religious views of many of the pioneers of the Catholic agitation. Tone was himself a free-thinker who believed that Catholic emancipation was only the first phase in a great revolutionary movement

which would liberate the Irish Catholics from religious superstition and from the influence of priestcraft. He made no secret of his views even to Catholic leaders like John Keogh, once he had gained their confidence after his appointment as agent for the Catholics in succession to Richard Burke. His diary records in several places how he had reluctantly attended Catholic services when he was touring Ireland on political missions with John Keogh. And when he went later to France, his diary is full of scornful expressions about the Irish priests and especially the bishops. Keogh himself was at times impatient with the political timidity of the Irish hierarchy, but his Catholic faith was never in doubt; even though some of the political memoirs refer to him as an ambitious politician who was only exploiting the Catholic cause for his own ends. But Tone does mention various members of the Catholic Committee in the seventeen-nineties who had actually conformed to Protestantism. And the religion of many of the Catholic leaders was undoubtedly lax, even before the French Revolution spread its disturbing influence among the advocates of the new democratic upheaval.

How O'Connell himself escaped the agnostic influences of the French Revolution must always remain something of a marvel; for his own early Journal shows how he had steeped himself in the agnostic writings of many of the revolutionary prophets. He had been educated by the English Jesuits at St. Omer's after he left Kerry, and the atmosphere of Douai, when he went on there from St. Omer's, was also strongly ecclesiastical. He and his brother had not been long at Douai when the district became inundated with Dumouriez' troops, and they had to escape from school on the day that Louis XVI. was guillotined in Paris. Their sympathies at that time were naturally strong against the Revolution, and when they reached London they were constantly meeting French royalist refugees who were, like Count

O'Connell, in desperate straits as exiles, and who were constantly planning efforts to overthrow the new régime in France. But from the time he became a law student in London, O'Connell rapidly fell under the influence of the revolutionary gospel. He attended the debates in the Cogers' Society, and became a fluent speaker there, at a time when it was full of excited orators who were inspired by the new doctrines of liberty and popular government. Count O'Connell was appalled at discovering what ideas Daniel was picking up in his new surroundings; and he took occasion to tell him what he thought of democracy and the other new-fangled notions, one day when O'Connell had got into a scrape in the police courts when returning from a festive evening. But the infectious doctrines of the Revolution were making all sorts of unlikely converts in London at the time. The Duke of Norfolk, who had conformed to Protestantism in order to sit in the House of Lords, was the most daring of them, and he even compromised his friend Charles James Fox by proposing the health of " Our Sovereign, the People " at a dinner in Fox's honour. And young Sir Francis Burdett, who had just married the richest heiress in England, had come back from two years in Paris an uncompromising and ardent disciple of the Revolution.

The same influences converted young Daniel O'Connell to democracy; and when he came home to Kerry for a long vacation and found that his uncle Maurice had been appointed a Deputy Governor for the County after the Catholic Relief Act of 1793, his democratic sympathies met with as little approval at Darrynane as they had met with in London, when Count O'Connell was already negotiating with Pitt for the reorganisation of the Irish Brigade under the British flag for service against revolutionary France. Daniel's younger brother even joined the Irish regiments which were revived, and he went out with the first draft to the West Indies, to die there,

within two years, of fever contracted in the pestilential climate. Count O'Connell, as a devoted royalist, had even proposed seriously to Marie Antoinette, in the early stages of the Revolution, that the Irish Brigade and other foreign regiments should be brought into Paris as a pretorian guard, who could be depended upon to fire on the mobs if necessary. The Revolution put an end to all such plans, by disbanding the Irish Brigade as well as all other foreign regiments in the French service. And soon after Daniel O'Connell left London to continue his legal studies in Dublin, Count O'Connell was busy in obtaining recruits in Kerry for the regiment which he himself hoped to lead in the service of England against France. Maurice O'Connell of Darrynane also was no less strongly on the side of the angels, now that he had become a Deputy Governor of the county. And when the Union was being negotiated, Maurice O'Connell and other important members of the family were active in organising support for it, in co-operation with Bishop Moylan, who had been a close friend of the family when he had been bishop of Kerry before his promotion to the See of Cork.

By the time the Union was under discussion, Count O'Connell's great hopes from the reconstitution of the Irish Brigade had been dismally shattered. He had been appointed one of the six Catholic Colonels who were to raise Irish Catholic regiments ; and the prospect of riding at the head of his own regiment under the English flag had made him regard himself as a pioneer of Catholic emancipation. But although the negotiations for creating the Irish regiments had been chiefly conducted by him in London, his own regiment was taken from him before the Irish troops left for the West Indies. After it had been amalgamated with another regiment, he was placed on the retired list with a colonel's half pay. His feelings towards the English Government had become much less enthusiastic. But Maurice O'Connell in Darrynane was

strongly in favour of the Union; and when his young barrister nephew made his famous first public speech denouncing the Union at a Catholic meeting in Dublin, the friction between them was greatly intensified. Daniel O'Connell was not only defying his uncle, whose property he had every expectation of inheriting. He had taken the extremely bold step of summoning a Catholic meeting in Dublin, to denounce the policy which the Irish bishops approved, and which Archbishop Troy in Dublin and Bishop Moylan in Cork were particularly active in promoting.

For a very young Catholic barrister who had come so completely under the influence of the revolutionary doctrines during his stay in London, the position was extremely delicate. He had joined the United Irishmen after he came to Dublin from London. His closest friend was a young Protestant barrister called Bennett, who had shared rooms with him in London. Bennett had become attached to the executive of the United Irishmen, and it was he who brought O'Connell into the Society, though he was apparently never a very active member of it. Surrounded by such influences, there was a very obvious possibility of O'Connell's ceasing to be a practising Catholic altogether, when he came out openly against the policy advocated by Archbishop Troy and by Bishop Moylan. His diary reveals him as a young man with decidedly hysterical tendencies during his adolescence. There are several passages in which he even talks of committing suicide when he is depressed for quite trivial reasons. And in one passage, when he believes himself to be in love with a young lady whom he calls "Sweet Eliza," and when his uncle has refused to pay his subscription to the Honourable Artillery Company, he even prays that he may lose his reason. To deduce any serious conclusions as to his religious beliefs from such evidence would be attaching too much importance to a very unbalanced record of his emotions. In one passage he

records that he has been advised to go to a certain priest, "Mr. Beattie," who is presumably the Jesuit Father Betagh, as his confessor. He does not say whether he is going to act upon the advice. But he evidently practised his religion faithfully at the time; though he had no hesitation in issuing a challenge to a duel when he found that someone had written derogatory statements about him to a certain Colonel McCarthy. He applied to his Protestant friend Bennett for the loan of his pistols, but Bennett very sensibly refused to lend them.

The evidence of the Journal certainly shows that he was deeply influenced by the doctrinaires who had created the atmosphere of revolution in England, and also that he had adopted the code of honour prevalent among the Irish gentry at the time. He had also become a free-mason, but it is difficult now to know how far the Papal condemnation of Masonry was enforced in Ireland at the time. In England Lord Petre, the most influential member of the Catholic Committee, had even been Grand Master of the English Freemasons about the time when O'Connell was born; and there is no reason to believe in this case that Lord Petre was deliberately defying the prohibitions of the bishops. Another Catholic, the Duke of Beaufort, had also been Grand Master earlier in the eighteenth century. Under the existing conditions it was very difficult for the Vicars Apostolic to publish regularly the decrees of the Holy See. O'Connell himself declared afterwards that he had been unaware of the condemnation against masonry, and he resigned from all connection with it during Archbishop Troy's lifetime. He made no public statement on the matter until many years afterwards, when his enemies raked up the fact against him in 1837. His explanation of the matter is illuminating. He wrote to his own newspaper to state that a "paragraph has been going the rounds of the newspapers, purporting to have my sanction, and stating that I have been at one time Master of a Masonic Lodge

in Dublin, and still continue to belong to that Society." He admitted that he had been Master of a Masonic Lodge, but continued: "It was at a very early period of my life, and either before an ecclesiastical censure had been published in the Catholic Church in Ireland prohibiting the taking of the Masonic oaths, or at least before I was aware of that censure. I now wish to state that, having become acquainted with it, I submitted to its influence, and many, very many years ago, unequivocally renounced Freemasonry. I offered the late Archbishop, Dr. Troy, to make that renunciation public, but he deemed it unnecessary. I am not sorry to have this opportunity of doing so."

The fact that he made this offer to Archbishop Troy is of considerable importance; for it was only after Dr. Troy's death in 1814 that the definite Catholic revival in Dublin set in. It is seldom recognised how far religious practice in Dublin had fallen into disuse at the end of the eighteenth century. The corruption and extravagance of the Irish Parliament had exercised a thoroughly demoralising influence. Many of the young Catholics who had political ambitions had adopted the loose moral code of the landlord Parliament, and duelling and drunkenness were prevalent everywhere. Dublin itself, having been the chief stronghold of the Protestant Ascendancy for so long, had suffered gravely from the lack of priests and of chapels. And it is interesting to recall the panegyric preached at the month's mind of Archbishop Murray in 1852, by a Dublin priest who had worked under him since the days when he became coadjutor to Dr. Troy in 1812. "Flatter not yourselves," he declared, "that these excesses and their direful effects were confined to sectarians: they were as rife, if not more so, amongst ourselves. The mortifying truth is that in Dublin, at the period alluded to, amid many Catholics there were but few practical Christians; very few whose lives supplied that substantial and only

unerring proof of profitable attachment to the faith—the constant and regular frequentation of the Holy Sacraments." Such conditions were almost inevitable when priests were very few in Dublin; when the chapel in Clarendon Street was almost the only Catholic church of any size, apart from the Pro-Cathedral, which was not yet completed; and when Catholic schools scarcely existed, and the slums were teeming with a degraded and destitute people.

O'Connell's Journal ends soon after his own call to the Bar in May, 1798, and it is impossible now to trace the subsequent development of his religious views. One factor that undoubtedly counted for much was that he had a rooted dislike for drunkenness; and he was thankful that he could not drink more than three glasses of wine without making himself sick. His uncle, Maurice, at Darrynane, upheld the old tradition of making his guests drink to excess, as a recognised form of hospitality, and he thought very poorly of his adopted heir, who stubbornly refused to be made drunk when he came home to Kerry. In later years their relations became much more affectionate, but in the most critical period of his youth he and old "Hunting Cap" had many bitter quarrels. They differed violently over the Act of Union, and when, a few years later, O'Connell married his own cousin in Tralee instead of marrying one of the two heiresses whom "Hunting Cap" had designated for him, he was at once disinherited, and his uncle refused absolutely to relent. But by that time Count O'Connell had become more closely attached than ever to his brilliant nephew; and although his intercession with "Hunting Cap" after the marriage was quite unavailing, he kept up a correspondence with Daniel O'Connell which gave him the greatest encouragement. The Colonel's own career in the Irish Brigade, which had reached such distinction on the eve of the Revolution, had been utterly shattered, and he wrote in 1802 to his nephew that

" doomed as I am now to obscurity and idleness for the rest of my life, I have transferred my ambition on you, and do declare you from this hour Debtor to your name and family for the lustre it was long my wish and hope to attach to them." The deep affection of this old Colonel of the Irish Brigade—who was so strongly attached to the Church of his ancestors, and who in his old age was to be a picturesque figure, as a retired Lieutenant-General, when he had been reinstated after the Napoleonic wars, taking the collection in a French church every Sunday—was in all probability one of the most direct influences in strengthening O'Connell's personal piety.

From both his uncles he had inherited the ambition to become a leading figure in the emancipation of the Catholics. The penal laws had been abolished, and he belonged to the new generation who had just been admitted to the professions. His reading as a young man had inspired him with the ideal of service to his own country; but in Ireland after the Union patriotism was inextricably bound up with the advancement of the Catholic cause. Old John Keogh had retired almost completely from active leadership of the Catholics, and the younger barristers, trained to public life and with a professional aptitude for public affairs, became more and more prominent. Denys Scully had been the most active member of the Committee for a time; but as O'Connell's own practice on circuit and in Dublin increased with such remarkable rapidity, he too began to play a leading part. Friction arose in the Committee between the Catholic gentry and the new barristers who gave so much of their time to Catholic affairs, and in one heated meeting, when Lord ffrench openly declared that it had become necessary to " put down " the Catholic lawyers, whom he accused of having their own axe to grind, O'Connell retorted with a spirit which revealed his growing capacity for leadership A few years later, in 1808, he had become so active that he openly opposed the attitude

of John Keogh. The veteran agitator, in his disillusioned old age, had grown weary of petitions to the English Parliament, and declared that their constant failure only made the Catholic cause ridiculous. But the younger men had grown restive and determined that inaction would only prolong the apathy and fear of the Catholic body. O'Connell, with his own professional success now so definitely assured that he was universally regarded as one of the most promising of the Irish junior barristers, came out openly as the leader of the younger elements in the Committee. Forcing the question to a division, he obtained a majority in favour of petitioning against the known wishes of John Keogh. Thereafter, the leadership of the Committee devolved more and more upon him personally. His profound sense of responsibility, and his confidence in his own power to revive the Catholic agitation, strengthened his faith, and made him conscious of the sacred character of his cause.

Dr. Troy was still archbishop of Dublin, and it was not until 1812 that he appointed as his coadjutor the retiring, humble priest who had worked for so many years devotedly among the Catholic poor. By that time, however, O'Connell's leadership of the Catholic body was undisputed. The year was marked by the appointment of the Prince of Wales as Regent, and O'Connell's hopes of emancipation soared at once. For years the Prince's friendship with English Catholics had been a source of encouragement. His old friendship with Charles James Fox and other generous reformers had disclosed his sympathy with the Catholic claims. But, most of all, the influential Catholics counted upon his marriage to the devout Catholic widow Mrs. Fitzherbert. For more than twenty years, with only one serious interruption which did not last long, he had been living openly with her while she still kept a private chapel in her house and had her own personal chaplain. She was connected with nearly all the principal Catholic families in England;

and among them the secret marriage was universally admitted, though she herself adhered faithfully to her promise never to divulge the fact without the Prince's consent. O'Connell was well aware of it, and he also had the direct evidence of at least four or five important public men that the Prince had told them himself that he would take the first opportunity that arose of doing justice to the Catholics. So, with the Regency, the Irish Catholics under his leadership became convinced that Catholic emancipation had again come within the range of practical politics.

Then it was that O'Connell for the first time had to face the question of whether emancipation should involve conditions which might affect the liberty of the Church itself. His personal disinterestedness in the subsequent transactions has never been adequately appreciated. He was still new to the Catholic leadership, but he had been a barrister long enough to realise that his own advancement could go no further unless emancipation were carried soon. His family was already large, and he had to work at tremendous pressure to earn in little fees as a junior the very large income which was necessary to support his large domestic establishment, and to give him the independence necessary for devoting so much attention to Catholic affairs. The success of the Irish agitation, even if he could revive it, had to depend largely upon the co-operation of Protestant sympathisers in the House of Commons; and above all upon Henry Grattan, who had been the staunch ally of the Catholics since the Act of Union. And now, when the first opportunity had arisen and the moment seemed more favourable than it was ever likely to be again, Grattan himself, in consultation with the English Catholic Board, had decided that the Veto upon the appointment of bishops must be accepted as an indispensable condition. Making no secret of his own views on that point, Grattan succeeded in carrying through the House of Commons in 1813, two

resolutions in favour of admitting Catholics to Parliament. And when his Bill was brought in, it also passed its second reading by a still larger majority.

If ever there was excuse for compromise, O'Connell would have had ample justification, from a purely political point of view, for accepting the bargain which Grattan and the other principal allies of the Catholics at Westminster declared to be indispensable. The English Catholic leaders had already accepted it, and even in Ireland the leaders of the Catholic aristocracy insisted that the prospects of the Bill would be jeopardised if the Veto were not accepted. Only the Irish bishops, and their agent in England, Bishop Milner, remained uncompromisingly hostile. To adopt their point of view meant an open rupture with Grattan and with the advocates of Catholic rights in England. What mattered more was the fact that the present opportunity might not recur for many years. The Regent had horrified the Catholics by his recent separation from Mrs. Fitzherbert, and by his complete submission to the Protestant influence of Lady Hertford. It was apparent already that he was tending rapidly towards the adoption of his father's anti-Catholic prejudices. If Grattan's Bill were not carried through Parliament while a majority was available in its favour, the chances in future Parliaments might be very faint indeed. At no time did O'Connell reveal his intense loyalty to his religion so clearly as in connection with Grattan's Bill. He had everything to gain personally by compromise. If the Bill passed, he would certainly have been one of the first Catholic K.C's., and the responsibility for the Veto could have been thrown upon Grattan and the Whigs. He could even have sheltered behind the attitude of the Irish Catholic aristocracy, who were mostly in favour of adopting the same line as the English Catholic Board. Even Richard Lalor Sheil, who as a very young man fresh from the debating societies of Trinity College had become the most useful

public speaker in his agitation, declined to follow O'Connell in his insistence upon unconditional emancipation.

O'Connell's own attitude was magnificently courageous and disinterested. He proclaimed openly, at a time when his efforts to rouse the Catholic body were only beginning to take effect, that he would prefer that they should remain unemancipated than that they should accept any compromise which might interfere with ecclesiastical liberties. And even after the collapse of Grattan's Bill—when Grattan announced that he would present no more Catholic petitions until the Catholics adopted a more "conciliatory" attitude; when the English Catholic Board were appealing to Rome for a verdict in favour of the Veto; when the Irish Committee was split and its most influential members had deserted him—he adhered steadfastly to his principles. His firmness on the Veto question was all the more remarkable when one considers his readiness to compromise on other matters in later years. He who had openly opposed the policy of Archbishop Troy at the time of the Union, now gave his unqualified and unhesitating support to the Irish bishops, when to do so meant to lose the opportunity of achieving emancipation and meant facing the collapse of the agitation which he had succeeded by enormous exertions in galvanising into life. And when even Rome appeared to give its approval to Grattan's Bill, through the rescript issued by Mgr. Quarantotti during the Pope's imprisonment, he never wavered. Later, when even the Irish bishops appeared to waver, and Archbishop Murray—who had gone to Rome to support Milner in protesting against the Quarantotti Rescript— horrified O'Connell by appearing to consent to a compromise, he himself insisted more strongly than ever that there must be no conditions. After the debates on Grattan's Bill in 1813, O'Connell had boldly declared in the Catholic Committee that Grattan had shown himself to be not a fit person to present their cause in Parliament. In the following

February he proclaimed his own feelings of relief that the cause was to proceed without any further embarrassment from false friends, and closed his speech with the famous words :—

> Let us never tolerate the slightest inroad on the discipline of our ancient, our holy Church. Let us never consent that she should be made the hireling of the Ministry. Our forefathers would have died, nay they perished in hopeless slavery, rather than consent to such degradation. Let us rest upon the barrier where they expired, or go back into slavery rather than forward into irreligion and disgrace. Let us also advocate our cause on the two great principles : First, that of an eternal separation in spirituals between our Church and the State ; secondly, that of the eternal right to freedom of conscience—a right which, I repeat it with pride and pleasure, would exterminate the Inquisition in Spain and bury in oblivion the bloody Orange flag of dissension in Ireland.

The Veto controversy dragged on, and with the Catholic forces split and discouraged, Peel, as the young Irish Secretary, was soon able to suppress the Catholic Committee entirely. In the following year there occurred the famous duel with D'Esterre which has been so often represented as evidence that O'Connell disregarded the prohibitions of the Church. No one who reads the records closely can agree with such a view. As a young man he had on various occasions issued challenges himself, but since he assumed the leadership of the Catholic body he had shown much more self-control. His old uncle, Colonel O'Connell, had all his life been a vehement opponent of duelling in France, and his influence very probably encouraged O'Connell in thinking that the customary "code of honour" among gentlemen could be disregarded. It was true that in 1812 he had been involved in a duel with a brother barrister in Limerick, as the result of an angry scene in court. But when they actually met on the duelling field, O'Connell had shown such signs of grief at having to fire at a man whom he described as his "dearest friend," that the duel was stopped without a shot. The duel with D'Esterre was a very

different matter, because D'Esterre's provocation of him was openly encouraged by prominent officials of Dublin Castle with a view to bringing discredit upon him in his public capacity as leader of the Irish Catholics. O'Connell's acceptance of Peel's challenge later in the same year—which was frustrated by the intervention of the police—likewise involved public rather than private issues, in very exceptional circumstances. But in both cases O'Connell felt that he was compromising his Catholic principles, and he never again accepted a challenge.

For years afterwards, O'Connell's refusal to fight any more duels was thrown against him, even by his own allies and supporters in England. And it should be remembered, as evidence of his loyalty to the Church's teaching, that many of the younger leaders of the Catholic Association—particularly the O'Gorman Mahon—not only accepted challenges but provoked duels recklessly. The veteran Radical leader, Sir Francis Burdett, who had been for so many years one of the chief advocates of Catholic rights in Parliament, tried to secure O'Connell's expulsion from Brooks' Club, on the ground that he always refused to give the satisfaction of one gentleman to another when he abused or insulted his opponents. Probably nothing did more to extinguish the practice of duelling than O'Connell's successful refusal to resign from the club, and the failure of Burdett and his friends to expel him.

DENIS GWYNN.

THE PROBLEM OF JESUS CHRIST

BY JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.

PERE LEONCE DE GRANDMAISON, in a remarkable book* published posthumously, devotes two chapters to what he calls "The Problem of Jesus Christ." The problem is this: If the Gospels are an accurate account of the life and doings of Jesus Christ, what are we to think of him? He interfered with the laws of nature in his own name and by the exercise of a power native to himself; he made extraordinary and, from a purely human standpoint, even extravagant demands on the devotion of men for all time, claiming that they should love him more than their homes or their country; he imposed his doctrine upon us not by persuasion, but imperatively, on the sole ground that he was the guarantor of its truth: in brief, he claimed to be divine. Was he, in fact, what he claimed to be, or was he under the spell of a pitiful delusion? Of course, Père de Grandmaison does not give a new answer to this old question. His chapters are original and interesting, because in setting out the problem, he builds up, from a careful study of the Gospels, an exquisite picture of Christ's human perfection, and in recounting the leading heterodox solutions he traces them back to their origins in this or the other philosophical system. Direct proof of Christ's divinity is offered in other parts of the book; in these chapters the indirect proof is convincingly drawn out, the Catholic answer shining luminous and coherent through the shifting conjectures of heterodox writers. The force of the argument here lies in juxtaposition.

Père de Grandmaison sets aside at once, without condescending to discuss it, the absurd theory that Jesus

* *Jésus Christ.* Par R. P. Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J. 2 vols. Paris: Beauchesne. 1928. 100 fr.

Christ was mad or an impostor, quoting as he passes the trenchant words of Renan: "Le fou ne réussit jamais. Il n'a pas été donné jusqu'ici à l'égarement d'esprit d'agir, d'une façon sérieuse, sur la marche de l'humanité." This theory is not worth notice, because it reduces Jesus Christ to a pathological curiosity, in itself a serious objection; and it creates the further pathological problem how a lunatic or a charlatan could be so balanced in judgment, so serene in trial, so nicely poised between extremes, so clearly master of himself and circumstances, as Jesus Christ is represented to have been.

The problem in all its complexity confronts those who acknowledge on the one hand that Jesus Christ was a real man and, as man, morally perfect, and on the other hand admit that he claimed to be the authentic son of God and the proper object of divine adoration. How are we to harmonise, ask Rationalist critics, the incontestable moral goodness of Christ with pretentions which, for one reason or other, seem to us absurd? Voltaire, it is true, removed the difficulty by finding flaws in the founder of Christianity, but his views are now discredited as shallow and malevolent. Discerning critics admit the truth of Renan's words: "Whatever the surprises of history, Jesus Christ will never be surpassed." They grant readily that a few years after Cicero had refused to discuss what a perfect man would be like for the simple reason that no two persons could agree on the elements of this perfection nor on the proportions in which they should be blended, the perfect man actually appeared on earth, and the Gospels tell the story of his life. They do not maintain, like the Doketists and Phantasiasts in the early Christian centuries, that Christ, being God, bore only the semblance of a body, that he *seemed* to be a man, thus reducing the central figure of the Gospels to a phantom or a shade; they are wholly occupied in proving that Jesus Christ was a man, and nothing more.

The Evangelists who, after the first doubts and diffi-

culties were over, frankly admitted that Jesus Christ was God, take no pains to disguise the fact that he was a man. The distinguishing note of the Gospels is their simplicity. The authors have no further design upon us than to describe events as they saw them. They let Jesus Christ walk through their pages without comment, never turning aside to pass judgment on priest or pharisee, Pilate or Herod. There is hardly any gloss, rarely, if ever, a word of sympathy, of regret or of hope. The Gospels are the most objective history ever written. The pathos, the strangeness of beauty are in the story itself, not in any grace of style peculiar to the authors, nor in any observations they make on the facts. It is impossible to read them even cursorily without recognising that they portray a vivid human being sharply distinct in outline, very different from a bundle of abstract virtues put together artificially by a romancer or philosopher to embody a preconceived theory of human perfection, very unlike, let us say, Apollonius of Tyana.

If the Gospels contain marvels, they also tell of the human qualities of Jesus and of weakness incidental to all human nature, without explaining them away. If he calmed the storm, he was, nevertheless, subject to fatigue and hunger. If he lived in closest union with his heavenly Father, he was nevertheless oppressed by sorrow, at times even to tears, and, in the Garden of Olives, by a sense of horror at the approach of death. He loved the things men love—home, friends, the countryside where he lived, the cause for which he worked. He was so human that he was sensitive, and so kin to us that he let it sometimes be seen that he was hurt by ingratitude and discourtesy. In the Gospels he does not, like a demi-god, move in a plane above the world, scornfully independent of its vicissitudes ; on the contrary, men and women, failure and success, thanks and abuse play upon his soul as they play upon the meanest of us. If he rises superior to mundane happenings by sheer moral force, he does not

live in an Olympian calm beyond their power to sadden or cheer.

Moreover, the Gospels portray him as a man of his own time and race. He spoke like an Israelite, in Scriptural phrase, with frequent allusions to the great personages of Jewish history—Moses and David, Isaias and Jonas, Abraham, the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. His method of argument, when he entered into one, was that of the Scribes, at every point different from Greek dialectic. His style was racy of the soil. The full rhythm, the balance of parallel phrases, the cadence of an earlier expression reappearing in a later, this is the dramatic style of the Orient framed to fix the attention and to assist the memory of brooding minds. He illustrates his discourses, as a Galilean would, with similes taken straight from his immediate environment: the stony fields over which the sower scatters seed, the dealer in the market place giving full measure, the labourers standing idle at street corners, the well bubbling up out of the parched ground, the tall wild flowers, the little children playing in the streets, the proud gait of the Pharisee, the brisk breeze by Jordan, the minute domestic interests of family life, pearls and salt and lamps and oil and pieces of money and leaven and fish caught in the Lake and sorted into baskets—how clearly the life and landscape of Galilee stand out before us in a series of memorable pictures. It is no wonder that Salvianus, the Presbyter of Marseilles, exclaimed after reading the Gospels: "Christ is the most needy in the universe because he feels the needs of all."

These aspects of Jesus Christ's personality prove that he was kin to us, but there are other characteristics which lift him entirely above us. In the first place, though he was a man and called himself a man, acknowledged a human mother and prophesied his own violent death, yet he was and claimed to be morally perfect. "Which of you," he asked once in a challenging question,

can accuse me of sin?" No one dared to attempt it, though he lived in public, taught openly in the synagogues and fields, moved among crowds for three years, replied to questions, conversed freely with men and women of all conditions, and ushered in a revolution. He did not defend himself against the mistakes and faults incidental to an active life by withdrawing into solitude. He did not cultivate what Milton calls "a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed." Still, though his words and actions were an open book, no one among his opponents could, when challenged, point to any defect in his conduct.

Moreover, he set himself a difficult task. His purpose was to convict his own countrymen and the world at large of error and sin. He was opposed to much that passed for religion in his day, declaring that he himself was the Way, the Truth and the Life. It is not surprising that he excited opposition and that traps were laid for him by clever and malevolent opponents. In his replies he never takes an unfair advantage; he is never captious or abusive; and he never teaches anything but the sublimest morality. That, in itself, is more than human, especially when we take into account the avowal made by the disciples of the Pharisees and the Herodians that he did not flatter nor condone—"neither carest thou for any man," they said, "for thou dost not regard the person of men." This unerring rectitude, moral and intellectual, under the prolonged strain of hostile questioning, is more than mere men can acquire.

This perfect poise and balance in every detail of conduct is Christ's unique prerogative. He harmonises all the virtues; even those that seem to contradict each other blend in him into a unity. He alone among the sons of men found the secret of combining contrary qualities in such nice proportions that they mingle in him to form a full and flawless character. All other men, however worthy they may be, have their defects. If they have

the strength of their family or race, they have the weakness too. Jesus Christ, though he was an Israelite, was all things to all men. Others have the defects of their virtues. It is hard, for instance, to be consistently kind without being weak at times; it is hard to be absorbed in a cause without occasionally pressing it unduly or allowing anxiety to disturb the mind's equanimity; it is hard to be convinced of a vital truth and yet bear with others when they put obstacles in your way through malice or stupidity. Our virtues easily run to excess, and we starve one quality in developing another. Knowing the vagaries of human frailty, we are not surprised that a great and good man in the course of a contradicted life should, now and again, fall short of the highest ideal in conduct, that his zeal, for instance, has outrun his discretion, or his enthusiasm wearied out his patience. We excuse his mistakes out of admiration for his goodness, and dryly regret, perhaps, the alloy in all human virtue. But however critically we examine Christ's conduct, we may never expect to be able to extend to him the patronage of our excuses. He never errs. He is never too complaisant, escaping from a difficulty by retreating into a compromise; nor too exigent by holding fast to a principle without allowing for difficulties. He never acquiesces in evil, yet he never repels the evildoer. He is austere, but so kind and approachable that little children run to him and the disciples are glad to see him. He knew how great he was, yet he spent thirty quiet years at Nazareth, and when the whole land rang with his fame, girt himself with a towel and washed his disciples' feet. He was intellectually superior to the learned persons with whom he came in contact and he spoke with authority, yet he never made a display of knowledge. Indeed, in spite of his conscious preeminence, he spent his time by preference among the poor and ignorant, and he was so fresh and natural in his dealings with them that these lowly people never felt humbled by his condescension.

Just as he had an understanding heart towards his fellowmen in trouble, so he had a sympathetic lucidity of mind in explaining divine mysteries to the fisherfolk and peasants of Galilee. Out of enthusiasm for his kingdom he left home and friends and the peace of Nazareth, worked for it all day and prayed for it far into the night, and exacted from his followers the same sacrifices he had himself made for it, yet—and this is the strange, the mysterious perfection which is his exclusively—he was not anxious for the morrow. And when, humanly speaking, all seemed lost, when friends failed at critical moments and justice itself was defiled in its highest human source, he did not rail against fate, nor rebuke his destiny, nor accuse harshly, nor question the providence of God. We could continue almost indefinitely along these lines our investigation into Christ's character, always with the same result; but perhaps we have said enough to show that the breadth and richness of his virtue, the unswerving rectitude of judgment and conduct, even when tested by extreme injustice, by treachery, by failure and a tragic death, justify his own claim and the assent of mankind to his moral perfection.

His own claim to it stood the supreme test. When Jesus Christ was at the point of death he prayed for his enemies, but he breathed no prayer for himself, which is all the more remarkable when we reflect on his teaching that the Father sees everything, even the most secret. He had declared above twenty times during his life that he was perfect, and now at the moment when all men fear the divine scrutiny he has not the slightest regret for the misuse of powers. No saint, however exalted, but craved the mercy of God; Jesus Christ never asked for pardon. If we except him, no man ever died with the conviction that he was entirely sinless. "If the life and death of Socrates are those of a philosopher," said Rousseau, "the life and death of Jesus are those of a God."

We are not surprised, then, that Jesus Christ stood and knew himself to stand in a peculiar relation to God, that in his direct communion with the Heavenly Father he bore himself as a well-beloved son. His prayer is constant, from his first appearance on the banks of Jordan to the Cross; and his prayer is different in kind from that of all other souls. His profound reverence for the Father, revealed in every act and word and in the very attitude of prayer, which was so impressive that St. John remembered years afterwards the spot where Jesus gave thanks after breaking bread, contained no vestige of that uneasiness and fear which are never absent from the prayer of the saints. As Père de Grandmaison points out, every movement on the part of human wills towards immediate union with God carries with it at first an overwhelming sense of the abyss between finite and infinite. "To unite," he says, "a soul that is not pure spirit, that is chained to sense perception by its essential mode of acquiring knowledge, that is drawn downwards by the weight of the flesh, that is changeable and prone to evil, to a pure spirit which is act only and perfection, which we lay hold of here below only through our impotence to exist without it, which we overtake only across the emptiness of ephemeral things—this is the mystical paradox." Besides this crushing sense of infinite distance between the terms to be united, the creature is burdened with a sense of guilt. God is not only Absolute Being, He is essential Love against which the ungrateful creature has offended, the Lord whom he has not served. The first halting steps towards intimate union with uncreated Sanctity excite, therefore, a sense of awe, a desire for penance and purification. St. Teresa, St. Catherine of Siena, St. John of the Cross, in spite of their extraordinary blamelessness, felt the need of a vigorous ascetic if they were to be in any way worthy of the favours conferred upon them. There is no trace of this troubled recoil in Jesus. He possesses, as by native right, that full com-

munion with the Divine Being which is the last and final perfection of intellectual and volitional activity. His knowledge of God is not a learnt lesson, growing as his experience widens, but complete from the very outset, as if it were a natural inheritance. "He is born in the secret and in the glory," said Bossuet in a splendid phrase. Consequently, he is not an ecstatic, because ecstasy is caused in the early stages of mystical initiation by the disturbing delight of an unusual experience, which interferes with the normal functioning of the faculties. Incessant commerce, profound union with God were normal with Jesus Christ. He always spoke of the Father as if he saw Him. He elaborated no new argument for the existence or the attributes of God, because he did not reach to God by a process of reasoning. God was a vivid fact to him, an abiding presence identified in some mysterious way with his own being and life; and his joy in the union was not troubled by a sense of unworthiness. Just because his oneness with God was so natural, because it was a filial union in a special and peculiar sense, he held in his mind, both in rapture and in sorrow, a repose, a divine serenity, an abiding calm at the centre of passion which mere human beings cannot capture and retain except at fugitive intervals.

From all this we conclude that Jesus Christ was more than man, that he was, in objective truth, one with God.

This inference has been so distasteful to certain philosophers that they have refused to draw it, preferring to reduce the stature of Christ's soul till it fitted in to their own systems. In the earliest Christian ages Celsus and Porphyry, because they maintained for reasons that seemed valid to them that God did not take a minute interest in mundane affairs, set themselves to show that the Gospels contained contradictions and extravagant statements, and that what was sublime in them was stolen from Plato and other Greek philosophers. The Renaissance Humanists and the eighteenth century Deists,

because they had convinced themselves that all positive and supernatural religion was impossible, went to great pains to prove that Christianity was built upon a mass of fable. We occasionally see this method of attack used nowadays, the influence of pagan myths, the infiltrations of pagan superstitions being put forward to explain in the desired sense every word and act found in the Gospels. The straining ingenuity of these authors, the ridiculous lengths to which their prejudices drive them, are a sufficient refutation of their views. On the whole, however, this line of escape is becoming more and more precarious as the historical truth of the Gospels is year by year more conclusively established. Those scholars who, because of their learning and patient research, have a right to an opinion on the content of the Gospels, admit now that they are historical documents; and the study of comparative religions has shown that the theories of pagan infiltrations are, at the best, guesses without any real foundation in fact, and, for the most part, demonstrably false. Only charlatans like Anatole France, who knew neither the Gospels in a scholarly way nor the ancient classics at first hand, have now the hardihood to advance theories of this kind.

Other critics combine textual criticism with elaborate psychological analysis in order to explain the problem of Jesus Christ in the terms of a favourite philosopher. They take Kant, perhaps, as their philosophical guide; and as Kant had denied that we can ever by our processes of cognition arrive at an objective knowledge of Absolute Being, any other kind of union with it is, *a fortiori*, absurd. Or they adopt the Hegelian explanation that finite being evolves by an irresistible law of nature into more and more perfect manifestations of reality through thesis, antithesis and synthesis. And armed with the impressive Hegelian terminology, they apply to Jesus Christ the idea championed by Lessing, Herder and Goethe, that the divine education of mankind consists in

a continuous development, and that this progress is effected and quickened from time to time by some person in closer contact with the immanent, impersonal divine force moving humanity blindly towards its end. Jesus Christ, therefore, is God only in the sense that he partakes of this force more fully than other men, the difference between them being one of degree. He was a sort of superman, not bound by our conventional moral laws, and therefore under no petty obligation to be sincere in his claims. And they are proud of linking up knowledge thus into a comprehensive unity by applying the principle of evolution traced by Darwin in the natural sciences to the universe itself and to the personality of Christ.

Schleiermacher (1821-22) first among modern critics applied the evolutionist doctrine to the problem of Christ's personality. He held the Lutheran doctrines according to the letter, resolving them in fact into symbols of religious experience, into expressions shadowing forth an aspect of the truth, not the whole, final truth itself. Christ, therefore, is the Way and the Life because his holiness is unapproachable, and because God transmitted pardon through him. All this was highly ambiguous until Hegel developed his system and Strauss solved the problem of Christ's personality in its terms. Jesus Christ, according to Strauss, is not God, but an exquisite link between the past and the future in a world that is always becoming a better world. The Hegelian philosophy dominates in greater or lesser degree all modern Liberal interpretations of Jesus Christ. Like Strauss, Liberal Critics set themselves to explain the personality of Christ without having recourse to the supernatural, or to the conjectures of the Rationalists. or to the disgraceful insinuations of deliberate fraud levelled by Voltaire against Jesus Christ and the Evangelists. Sabatier continued in the same vein, and arrived at the conclusion that Jesus, while remaining a mere man, revealed most completely through his moral perfection

the paternal heart of God. Harnack, too, admits that Jesus Christ leads men to God not only by what he says, but also by what he is : still, for salvation, it is enough to believe what Jesus says, and not in the least necessary to assent to his divine sonship. For Harnack it comes to the same thing in practice whether we adopt the Christian dogma or his own view, for if we grant that Christ is preeminently holy and that he reveals the mind of God, our " judgment of value " in regard to his doctrine has the same utility for conduct whether we regard him as a mere man or accept the more hidden truth that he is, in a true sense, divine. This then is the sentimental, pragmatic, subjective Kantian criterion applied to the problem of Christ's personality ; and the criterion is supported by great critical ingenuity which, after the manner of Strauss, discards or explains away inconvenient texts for this or the other exegetical reason. Kant and Hegel have become friends through the critical studies of German scholars on the problem of Christ's personality.

In general, what becomes, we may well ask, of Jesus Christ as the sovereign mediator, the supreme prophet and teacher of the human race, in the Hegelian system ? He is still preeminent, it is true, but only in a relative sense. In course of time he must be surpassed, since he is essentially a link. To attribute lasting and final pre-eminence to him is a sentimental concession to popular or inherited prejudice without any solid intellectual foundation. However loudly Harnack proclaims Jesus to be God, still he is not God ; and if he is only man he must, in the Hegelian philosophy, be a transient phenomenon with no finality about it, however much Hegel's disciples protest. We must look forward to another Messiah to gather up in a later synthesis the results of a necessary evolution. And this unsatisfactory result is brought about by a method of textual criticism which, in the words of Père de Grandmaison, leaves us with a person " singulièrement pâle et irréelle. A vrai dire Jésus

de Nazareth n'intéresse M. Strauss que comme symbole du vrai Christ, l'Humanité." The standpoint of the Liberal Critics seems to be that Kant and Hegel between them have taught a profounder truth than the Gospels teach. That is what it really comes to. Rather than amend Hegel, they mutilate the Gospels, and give to Christ a sentimental throne under the protection of two German philosophers.

But, again, since the spacious days of Hegel, the ingenuity of Liberal Critics has been taxed still further by subsequent researches into the historicity of the Gospels. Much of the text discarded by them has been proved to be authentic. The historical truth of the Gospels has become more incontestable. If we must take the text as it stands, then we must admit that Jesus Christ was morally perfect and that he claimed to be divine. That is true, answer the Liberal Critics, but not divine in the Catholic sense, for that is impossible. "L'idée que Dieu se soit incarné . . . nous heurte," writes P. L. Couchoud, whom P. de Grandmaison quotes. "C'est une conception prékantienne . . . aujourd'hui elle reste inassimilable." The claim has been misinterpreted, the exact meaning of Christ's words has been missed by historical Christianity. How then are the words to be explained without involving Christ in a charge of fraud? How is the claim to be interpreted in such a way as to leave Christ a mere man without, at the same time, casting a slur on his character? Renan set about solving the enigma. If we are to believe Renan, the problem of Jesus Christ is a psychological problem, not very different from the problem that confronts us when we study the lives of other great men. How did Napoleon or Mahomet come to believe in themselves as they did? If we can account for a gradual process of auto-suggestion we resolve the difficulty. From the outset, according to Renan, Jesus had a sense of intimate union with the Father. When he entered upon his public ministry, his zeal,

growing deeper and warmer with activity, became a passion to unite the whole world transfigured to God. Into this ardent mind ancient prophecies, recalled at the right moment, insinuated themselves with suggestive force, and the suggestion matured gradually under the pressure of circumstances. The enthusiasm and ambitions of the disciples, the logic of success, the necessity of resisting cunning and violent enemies led the master at first gently to repel, then to accept, and finally to claim a title which in the beginning he had regarded as blasphemy to arrogate to himself. His legend formed under his own eyes, and he slowly fell a victim to it. And does not a similar process take place in other men? Are they not pushed to extremes by their friends and by the needs of the moment, by the calls of the generous and noble ideal for which they live? Is it not just this inevitable illusion that makes the great personages of human history so pathetic? If we ask in surprise whether Jesus was in fact a lunatic, swept into madness by flattery, Renan answers: No, not in the sense in which lesser mortals are mad. Was he fraudulent? Renan replies that we must not judge great men "du haut de notre timide honnêteté." Jesus Christ, then, in Renan's eyes, is a kind of superman not subject to our moral standards. If he was deluded, it was because he was so great that a claim which would make us ridiculous was invested with some probability by his extraordinary powers.

On the face of it, this is not a solution of the problem within the terms of reference. Jesus Christ in all he said and did showed extreme reverence for the moral law as we know it. When he asserts that he is sinless, he challenges us to judge him according to our moral standards. He does not claim privilege against the universal obligation of the natural law, nor does he ever excuse his conduct on the score that he is not bound by our conventions. On the contrary, he always asserts that he is ruled by the will of another—"What is pleasing to the

Father, I do always " ; and he urges us to take him as a model in all our actions. What, then, becomes of Renan's subterfuge that Christ was mad or immoral in an analogous sense ?

In particular, the whole process imagined by Renan contradicts flatly the Gospel story. Opposition raised its head at the very beginning of the public ministry, grew more truculent day by day, and finally succeeded in putting him to death. The disciples were often disheartened ; the hatred which enveloped the little band, " the bridal party," as Jesus calls it, left its mark upon the mind of Christ himself ; and so difficult did his service seem that some left it early, and the others asked from time to time dejectedly when the promised kingdom was to come. The success, the sweeping, intoxicating enthusiasm are figments of Renan's imagination. What enthusiasm there was for Christ's person and doctrine was more than counterbalanced by the malevolence of enemies, the desertion of friends, and the foreseen results of the ministry. After all, did not Jesus foretell his death and the manner of it, detail by detail, before it came to pass ? And is it not clear to a reader of the Gospels that Jesus Christ rose, in his moral grandeur, superior to enthusiasm even when it was sincere, just as he dominated by his moral grandeur the hour of final defeat ? And, anyhow, was not the public life too short and hurried for this large illusion to grow, in the time, to such monstrous proportions ? The whole of Renan's theory is vitiated by the assumption that Jesus Christ realised progressively the extent and character of his oneness with God. Of this progressive realisation, fraudulent or sincere, there is no trace in the Gospels. The union with God which Christ claimed at the end is the very same that he claimed at the beginning.

It is curious how Simeon's prophcey is fulfilled centuries after it was spoken, how " this child is set for the fall and for the resurrection of many in Israel, and for a

sign which shall be contradicted . . . that out of many hearts thoughts may be revealed." He is the rock on which philosophies split. In the presence of his vital reality, Hegelianism, Kantianism, Rationalism are manifestly deficient. Through the confusion the Catholic doctrine rises luminous and clear. It does not distort facts in order to safeguard a prejudice. It does not invent reasons for regarding this text as interpolated and that as corrupt, in order to reduce the Gospel narrative to the measure of a metaphysical theory quite extrinsic to the texts in question. It does not indulge in the fanciful psychological analysis of a person whose characteristics and experiences it ignores when it is convenient to do so. It does not divest Jesus Christ of that balance and proportion which he has in the Gospels, of that brilliant perfection which Catherine Fiesca Adorna, the Genoese mystic, quoted by P. de Grandmaison, saw in God and described in one word : Nettezza ! It does not say any more about Christ or any less than what is patent in the Gospels, viz., that he is, in a real sense, divine. And if you ask the Catholic Church : In what sense ? she replies, pointing always to the Gospels : In the sense that he possesses two natures, a divine and a human, united in one Person. The fuller explanation of this mysterious union she leaves to her theologians.

The Catholic dogma, as P. de Grandmaison says, and as he shows in these two chapters, is not only the best among possible explanations ; it is the only one which does justice to the text and to history. The ceaseless vigilance of the Catholic Church alone can prevent the Christ of the Gospels being reduced by Rationalist and Liberal Critics to the shade it became in the heresies of Eutyches and the Phantasiasts.

J. E. Canavan, S.J.

TWO MONTHS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

BY VIOLET CONOLLY

Part II.*

Though many churches are still open and religious services crowded, it must not be forgotten that the government policy remains severely anti-religious. Hundreds of priests and nuns still linger in Soviet prisons, but any reliable information about their condition is extremely difficult to obtain. Many others are to be seen in the street begging for a few kopeks to keep body and soul together—gaunt, piteous figures with despairing eyes for whom the future can only mean protracted agony. All the monasteries and convents without exception have been closed. No applicant for a government position, and no teacher, if he values his job, would dare to be seen in a church.

There is a unique institution in Moscow called the "Bezboshny Shop." The "Bezboshny," *i.e.*, Godless Society, edits a periodical, organises meetings, and publishes large quantities of tracts and posters. The Communists attach enormous importance to this "Bezboshny" crusade, and the shop is an arsenal of popular anti-religious propaganda. The weapons are mostly pictorial—the work of rational persuasion being left to the libraries. There are numbers of cheap, crudely-coloured posters depicting the corruption of the Christian Church in Russia and abroad. The posters are certainly effective and, in a country where the majority cannot read, must carry weight. The licentious treatment of Christian ideals and the bestiality of most of the conceptions would shock anybody with the most elmentary sense of decency.

Many temptations are held out to renounce the church ceremonies of baptism and marriage. For example, if a mother declares that her child will not be baptised she

[1] For Part I. see last (December) issue.

is rewarded with a layette. However, having secured the layette—which is worth its weight in gold in Russia—many mothers bring their children secretly to the church and soothe their consciences by having them christened.

According to the Communists themselves, the anti-religious movement is not meeting with universal success. During the months of August and September, *Isvestia* (the government organ) frequently complained of the lack of active anti-religious fervour, and even mentioned definite instances of Orthodox groups organised in the factory clubs.

The Catholic churches in Moscow, Kieff and Sebastopol still hold regular services. I saw good congregations, mostly consisting of Poles, at Mass in all of them. I believe several Lutheran churches belonging to the German population are also open, but I did not see them myself. Three Quakers still linger on in Moscow since their famine relief work, and their little house, under the care of an Irishwoman, Miss Dorice White, is a charming centre of hospitality to any foreigner who comes their way.

In spite of the elastic marriage laws and the lax moral theories officially promulgated, the streets in the large Russian cities must strike anybody coming from Europe as singularly decent. I often walked home after midnight in Moscow and never experienced the smallest unpleasantness. In July and August the banks of the Moscow river, in the centre of the city, were covered with men and women bathing without costumes. All along the Black Sea coast it was the same, but nobody took the smallest notice of the bathers. Bathing places for the different sexes are not enclosed, but are as a rule separate.

The Crimea

Having spent a few weeks in Moscow, I started out for the Crimea. The long journey through the Ukrainian

Steppes was very much enlivened by the conversation of my travelling companions and their ingenious solicitude for my comfort. As on all long-distance trains, there were four bunks in each compartment, two on each side, one above the other. During the day, however, the upper bunks were let down and we sat side by side, discussing religion, politics, international affairs . . . with the greatest animation. My companions consisted of a young Red Army soldier, a Communist university student, and a Korean boy in Soviet uniform. In spite of our heated arguments we were soon fast friends, and at every station there was a rush to get me some delicacy of the country : Ukrainian honey cakes, sweet little pears, hot cheese buns bought from the peasants on the platform, innumerable glasses of steaming tea, bottles of kefir, everything had to be tasted. The young Russian soldier, a well-drilled, hardy, country lad, with shining blue eyes, was a typical example of the influence of the Communist school training. He argued hotly with me about the blessings of the new order, Russia's international mission. . . . Then, observing my British passport, a torrent of abuse poured forth against the crimes of Great Britain in her colonies and " iniquitous " capitalistic system. The Korean was less exuberant. He knew a little English, and delighted his companions by stringing together a few phrases. He was very curious about conditions abroad, and explained to me that he had joined the Red Army because he disliked the arrogance of the Japanese towards his countrymen and was grateful to the Soviets for allowing cultural autonomy to other nations. The student had a scholarship at Moscow University, where he was studying science. He spoke with great pride of the lecture halls and laboratories in Moscow, the scientific achievements of his professors, and the international audience they attracted to their lectures. Though distinctly Communist in outlook, he was quite frank about the hardships of the student's lot

in Russia to-day. In view of the desperate economic situation, the scholarships provided to enable students to go to the University are always maintenance scholarships ; but, as he declared from his own experience, they represent a bare minimum for subsistence.

Conversation never flagged until the train came abruptly to a standstill, and we were curtly informed that we must clear out of our carriage and make the best shift we could elsewhere in the train. We learned later that it had only just pulled up in time to avoid a very nasty accident, as the wheels of our carriage were in a perilously defective condition. I blessed my friends at this stage, as we struggled along the platform, hampered by our luggage, vainly seeking places in the already crowded train. They raced up and down the corridors, frantically exclaiming that there was a foreigner without a seat, and something must be done before the train moved on. All the available space was occupied, and so we seemed doomed to spend the next sixteen hours on our feet. Then the Red soldier suddenly had a brilliant idea. I should sleep on the luggage rack—one story above the two rows of " lying places." There was no time to express any opinion on this suggestion. Everybody else was very enthusiastic about it, and the luggage was speedily taken down. The soldier's long, heavy army cloak, the Korean's blanket and the student's threadbare coat were all requisitioned for my comfort on the luggage rack. I finally clambered up to my perch amid the triumphant excitement of all concerned, and fell asleep persuading myself that I was not really so close to the clammy, filthy ceiling as I imagined. Morning revealed the radiant blue skies of the Crimea, and so very reluctantly I said farewell to my kind fellow-travellers at Sebastopol station.

In this sunny country life seemed much more normal and gay than in the north. There were many opportunities for boating and bathing, pleasant gardens full of flowers beside the sea, and a fascinating Tartar market with

every kind of fruit in great profusion, cafés, military bands and merry groups of people lying in the sun. The lovely villas and palaces, situate among the hills and vineyards, have all been turned into sanatoria for different purposes. (Sanatorium is a very comprehensive word in Russian, and means anything from a home for tubercular patients to a hydro or club for tired workers). By establishing large permanent colonies in this dry, warm climate, a beginning has been made to cope with the high percentage of tuberculosis within the Union. The dispossessed owners of these houses naturally rail against the Soviets, but there can be no question that, in most cases, the appropriated property has been employed for a very good purpose. A real grievance, however, is that the Communists, in many cases, enjoy a practical monopoly of the advantages of recent social legislation.

The Crimea, as the independent Tartar Republic, now forms an autonomous unit within the Soviet Federation of Republics. According to the constitution, all the republics have absolute freedom of action with regard to educational and cultural questions. This means that various languages hitherto having no official status, like Tartar, Georgian or Ukrainian, are now officially enforced in the government services and the schools. In the Ukraine there is a certain enthusiasm for the national language, and I found that modern literature and dictionaries from many languages were being translated into Ukrainian. On the other hand, many of the teachers in the Crimean schools were by no means enthusiastic about the compulsory teaching of Tartar. The arguments we are so familiar with in Ireland were brought forward, *i.e.*, Tartar has no commercial value; it is a primitive language, inadequate for modern needs, lacks proper textbooks, and there are scarcely any educated people to teach it.

In this respect Soviet policy has been very shrewd.

While the different ethnological units within the Union can cultivate their own languages without interference, which flatters their national *amour propre* and is perfectly innocuous, in matters economic, political and financial the so-called independent republics are directly controlled from Moscow.

Education

Two points of far-reaching influence must be borne in mind in any examination of the Soviet educational system : the enormous percentage of illiteracy which the Bolsheviks inherited from the old régime, and the superlative importance attached to Communist doctrine in the schools. Education is undoubtedly reaching larger and larger sections of the community. New schools and universities are being erected in various parts of the country where funds are available—though official statistics show that there is nothing systematic about their establishment and that they depend in most cases on local initiative. Adult education and continuation classes are actively organised in the towns. On the other hand, it must unfortunately be stated that the standard of education has almost proportionately deteriorated under Soviet direction. Many subjects formerly well and generally taught are now practically eliminated from the programmes (*i.e.*, history, foreign languages . . .), while the place allotted to Lenin's biography, Communist principles, history of the Revolution and the rise of the proletariat is quite fantastic.

The teaching staffs, and particularly the head teachers, are chosen on a distinctly political bias : educational qualifications count for little in the competition. I met several pathetic instances of professors and headmasters of large colleges who, after long years of service, had been reduced to the lowest rank of the scale. The only reason was that they were not sufficiently " red," though they had never taken an active part in politics and were quite prepared to be loyal to the new administration. Their salaries were, of

course, reduced in proportion, and they were living (with their families) in two or three rooms in houses which had formerly belonged to them. The Red professors, on the other hand, are comparatively well off. In Moscow they live in the Institute of Red Professors, a large building containing separate, up-to-date flats, with telephones, etc., and tennis courts adjoining.

Experimental pedagogical methods, such as the Dalton plan and self-government, are eagerly given a trial. An amusing incident is related in connection with the difficulties of enforcing the Dalton plan in the Moscow schools. The children, wholly unaccustomed to discipline of any kind, rebelled against the mental effort it involved. Convinced that such tyranny could only emanate from a British aristocrat, they burnt " Lord Dalton " in effigy to demonstrate their disapproval.

The whole trend of education is to form militant doctrinaires, and with considerable ingenuity the proper revolutionary flavour is injected into every subject on the curriculum. This political instruction extends to the universities and to every branch of professional training. In Moscow I saw a hospital nurse's certificate which testified to her proficiency in the " history of the constitution," " emancipation of the proletariat " and " revolutionary movements," as well as in the ordinary professional subjects. Nobody can escape.

The children of the old intelligentsia and of aristocratic origin are now paying dearly for their ancestry. As there are still far from sufficient schools for the 140,000,000 population, the latest government decree limits the non-proletarian element to 30 per cent., where accommodation cannot be provided for all. The imminent danger of seeing their children grow up uneducated is one of the greatest hardships yet endured by a class which (whatever their faults) have certainly not been spared any privation. At the entrance examinations to the universities they are also submitted to a rigorous and often ridiculous political

catechization, and are frequently rejected on this score alone. The professors, many of whom have retained their chairs since pre-revolutionary days, are loud in their complaints about the inferior educational standard of the students admitted to their courses. To continue this policy would of course be suicidal for a country so urgently requiring well-trained experts in every sphere of activity.

Physical training is actively encouraged both in the schools and in the sports clubs organised by the various trades-unions. There was great excitement in Moscow last September when " The Park of Culture and Rest " (a typical Communist combination of words) was opened. This large pleasure ground, covering several acres along the banks of the Moscow river, contains well-equipped gymnasiums, lecture halls, health exhibitions, hygiene and food demonstrations, and excellent facilities for rowing. It is in fact a very creditable attempt to tone up the physical condition of the people.

Museums

The Communists have a passion for establishing museums. Any building, church or palace which they close up and do not exactly know what to do with, is immediately converted into a museum. Apart from the famous collections of art in the Hermitage and the fine galleries of modern French painting, the variety of new museums is unique: " Proletarian Culture Museum," " Museum of a Boyard's House " (showing how the noblemen of the past lived !), " Museum of Mother and Child," " Museum of Peasant Art," " Ethnological Park and Museum," " Museum of the Revolution," " Marx and Engels Museum," Museums consecrated to Lenin, Tolstoy, Scriabin, Dostoievsky, and many other venerated figures. The people are encouraged to visit these places, and school children are regularly brought there by their teachers. However, I noticed that there were no free-entrance days in this Workers' Paradise, and the hours

when open were so short and changed so frequently that it was quite an achievement to be admitted.

A curious fact connected with many of the smaller but by no means less interesting art collections, which originally belonged to rich Russian magnates, and are now converted into national museums, is that they have remained under the custody of the old owners in their former homes. This is notably the case in the Ostrooùxoff Icon Museum in Moscow. The icons in this collection were gathered together during many years by the greatest connoisseur in Russia, Ostrooùxoff, and are most exquisite specimens of different periods of this art. M. Ostrooùxoff, now impoverished and old, has been allowed to remain with his treasures, and the visitor is lucky who has the honour of being guided by him through the collection.

The old intellectual class is largely represented on the museum staffs. In fact in many cases the curators were not dismissed during the revolution, though constantly harried by a petty tyranny of jealous supervision on the part of the higher administration. Though naturally reluctant to make any advances, such people are always forthcoming when required, and their knowledge of foreign languages is extremely useful to the visitor. It is interesting to note that all the pictures in the public galleries are labelled in French and Russian, and that a list (also in both languages) of the works of art contained in each room is affixed to the door. This advantage, however, is counter-balanced by the deplorable lack of reproductions or even post-cards, of so many of the best pictures in the Moscow galleries.

SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS

There are many institutes and societies for scientific research, maintained partly by government grants and partly by subsidies from the various trusts interested in the possible industrial applications of scientific discovery. Complaints are frequently made, however, about the

meagre sums provided for scientific work. Scientific apparatus and research material are only available in very insufficient quantities; and, except in the large centres, the simplest drugs and surgical instruments are often lacking. A visit to a Russian dentist at the present time is a precarious experiment, as one can never foresee what particular implement or medicament may be wanting at the crucial moment.

It is commonly asserted that a wholesale exodus of Russian scholars and scientists took place during the revolution. A little investigation will show that this is far from true. Too much attention has been focused on the groups of *émigrés* professors in Paris, Prague and Belgrade, and on individual scholars like Rostovtzeff, Wassilieff, Maximoff and others, who had to fly their country. The many important scientists who heroically continued their work, in spite of all the hardships of the famine and revolution, have been practically forgotten. Petrograd, the seat of the Academy of Science and always the centre of Russian scientific life, only lost about 25 per cent. of her men of science, though the majority fled from Moscow.

The *Izvestia*, of December 1, 1928, contained a list of the scientific journals published in Russia, classified under the following headings: Architecture, Biology, Exact Sciences, Experimental Sciences, Geology, Minerology, Geodesy, Geography, Anthropology, Ethnography, Psychology—some fifty periodicals in all. Among the names of the editors and contributors may be found some of the foremost personalities in pre-revolutionary scientific life, *i.e.*, Professor Pavlov, editor of the "Russian Physiological Journal"; Platonoff, the celebrated historian; Oldenbourg, the permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences and editor of "Ethnography"; Professor Lazarev, editor of the "Journal of Applied Physics," and joint-editor of the "Records of Physical Science"; Menzbir, editor of the "Bulletin of the Moscow Natural Science Society"; Yoffe, editor of the "Journal of the

Russian Physics and Chemistry Society." This enumeration clearly shows the active importance of non-Communist elements in the scientific life of Soviet Russia.

During the last few years the restrictions have been considerably relaxed in the case of Russian intellectuals wishing to visit foreign countries for purposes of scientific research, though, of course, when abroad they must still behave with the greatest circumspection. Russian delegates are also present at almost all European scientific congresses.

However depressing their situation is at the present time, I believe that the future is promising for Russian scientists. Their avocation has an honoured place in the Soviet ideology, and the development of the country from every point of view depends to a large extent upon their co-operation. Even now writers of good scientific articles for the daily and weekly papers with a large circulation are quite well paid (*i.e.*, as well as in England). Among the privileged workers (with regard to salary) are factory chemists, analysts, and all classes of engineers, and as the economic situation becomes more normal and healthy these categories must be greatly enlarged from the ranks of trained scientific workers.

* * * *

One is struck in Russia to-day by the fact that hitherto ignorant and passive classes of the population are awakening to a whole range of ideas—economic, social, political—in which they formerly had no part. On the other hand, young Russia is aflame with fanatical hatred of the "oppressors and exploiters of the proletariat" (of whom it has the most erroneous ideas), and is only waiting for the order to go forth and "break skulls," in Lenin's pretty phrase. This militant Communism is actively encouraged by the government. The particular bogey is England, which provides a subject for constant vilification and caricature in the press.

The young Communists are immensely proud of their new social institutions—Soviets, clubs, libraries, museums, adult education, etc.—which they believe to be the exclusive privilege of the "Land of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution." They can patter as glibly about industrialisation, "liquidation of illiteracy," electrification, rationalisation of production, etc., as English boys do of football. Their enthusiasm for Russia's future industrial prosperity is amazing. As a result of the indefatigable Soviet propaganda, industrialisation is certainly beginning to grip the public imagination. How far the proletariat, with a gradually reduced working day and a traditionally bad heritage (educationally, psychologically and economically), will succeed in achieving the new dream, is quite another matter.

Though it is necessary to visit Russia in order to understand the country to some extent, most people had better reserve their judgment until they have had time to cool their heads at home. Some "go native" and see everything through rose-coloured spectacles (such people are known as "pinks" in Russia), while others, who cling to European standards, are apt to become so irritated with the inconveniences of life that they damn the whole system without discrimination.

When it is always probable that you may not be able to send a telegram or buy a stamp because the post office has no change (change is always a luxury in Russia); when accurate information concerning trains can scarcely be had for love or money, nor tickets bought without long notice, unless as a special favour; when trams may daily carry you four or five stages beyond your destination because it is forbidden to get off behind, and you are unable to squeeze through to the front door because the car is overcrowded; when long circuits have to be made in order to cross the street because it has been casually ripped open without the slightest provision to meet this necessity—your nerves may become so jangled that

the larger issues are quickly obscured. It is important, in the first place, to ascertain how much of this is really characteristic of Bolshevism. Public life never functioned like clockwork in Russia. Communism, with all its scheduling and formulisation, like Fascism in Italy, is only a superimposed discipline which is not easily moulded to the genius of the people. The Fascist is orderly, autocratic, efficient. The Communist is equally so—but, at the very highest estimation, there are only 1,000,000 Communists in a population of 140,000,000.

* * * *

What, then, are the characteristics of the Soviet regime ? A first glance at U.S.S.R. shows many features common to capitalistic society ; banks, monetary transactions, private enterprise, domestic servants, a privileged class of commissars corresponding to ministers elsewhere, unemployment, etc. The parallel, however, needs qualification and lies largely in externals. If there are *banks*, and even different banking groups interested in one or other branch of the country's business—*i.e.*, Agricultural Bank, Foreign Trade Bank, Bank for Trade with the East, etc.—they are all State banks. Therefore the large fortunes realised by international financiers are impossible.

Private enterprise has been admitted as a principle of the national economy, but only to a very limited extent. Whereas on payment of an expensive licence a shop may be opened, a factory may not. Concessions are only made to foreign capitalists for this purpose—*i.e.*, the Hammar pencil factory, etc.—but not to Russians. Rigorous State control and heavy taxation intervene at an early stage to keep private business (of which the State is very jealous) on a small scale. In theory professional men (doctors, engineers, etc.) may have private practice ; but their service belongs, in the first place, to the State institutions, by which they are paid a certain relatively small salary. Under present conditions it would be practically im-

possible for even the greatest surgeon in Russia to make a decent private income : the official attitude is expressed by the fact that a doctor is only allowed one extra room, and any private practice he may happen to find time for is enormously taxed.

Commissars and high State officials are in quite a different category. My impression was that many of them live pretty much as ministers in bourgeois countries. Their wives wear smart French clothes, and have servants and foreign governesses for their children. They visit Carlsbad and the Riviera in proper ministerial fashion, and know little of the restrictions generally felt by the people.

Unemployment certainly exists, but the unemployed retain their rooms without payment during the period of unemployment. Factory workers are usually provided with free quarters by the factory, and in case of unemployment or dismissal the worker cannot be dislodged until he finds new employment. Though the unemployment dole is small, unemployment insurance is entirely paid by the employer.

The traveller in Russia awakens to a new consciousness of the extent to which the time-honoured privileges of birth and money have permeated the minds of men—rich and poor alike—elsewhere. In spite of the glaring and grave discrepancies of the present system, and the abnormal tyranny by which it has been enforced, the fusion of the classes and the abolition of the pre-revolutionary disparity of wealth and poverty are factors of permanent and far-reaching sociological influence.

* * * *

The active propaganda of the Third Communist International is a continual menace to the governments of the world. It is no secret that Soviet money is generously expended in spreading subversive revolutionary agitation in various countries. Irish readers may be interested to learn, in view of the recent conflicting statements published in the Irish press, that the *Irish Workers'*

Union was formally affiliated to the Third International at the Congress held in Moscow last September. The Soviet press gave great prominence to this fact, and Bucharin referred to the Irish support as a party victory compensating for the loss of Trotsky, Radek and the other famous opposition leaders. This means that even in Ireland we have a national group solemnly pledged to enforce the Communist programme as defined at the Congress.[1]

VIOLET CONOLLY.

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[1] Since this was written, the following letter has appeared in the *Irish Times* of February 13th :—

SIR,—Arising out of the paragraph which appeared in your issue of the 2nd instant, quoting *The Times* report of a meeting of the Red Trade Union International in Moscow, and in response to requests for further information on the subject, my Executive has now obtained a reliable translation of the report upon which the paragraph in your paper was founded. It is as follows, taken from *Pravda*, dated 30th January, 1929 :—

> *At the sitting of the Secretariat of the Red Trade Union International held in Moscow on January 26th, the question of how the adherents of this International should work in Ireland was discussed. Comr. Zubok pointed out that there are fresh developments in the Irish Labour movement. Up till now the adherents of the Red Trade Union International have concentrated their activities mostly on the Irish Workers' Union. But now the Red Trade Union International has won over many sympathisers among members of other independent trade unions. Quite recently the Woodworkers' Union considered the question of organising an Irish-Soviet Unity Committee, which should unite the woodworkers' unions of both countries. The Chairman of the Irish Union, Comrade Moore, has written about it to the Soviet Woodworkers' Union.*

It is noted that the General President and the Secretary of the Irish National Union of Woodworkers have denied that any person has been given authority to represent the Union on any Soviet Committee either in Russia or elsewhere ; from which it would appear that the prospects of the Red International in Ireland are not quite as bright as was reported in Moscow. While it is not at all likely that Irish trade unionists will be affected by efforts directed from Moscow to undermine their confidence in their own organisations and the officers elected by themselves, it is perhaps well that they should realise that the Red International would readily seize an opportunity to get a foothold in this country.

Yours, etc.,
R. J. P. MORTISHED, Assistant Secretary.

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress,
32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin,
February 12th, 1929.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

IX

TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK

Eoċaiḋ Ó hEoġusa ecc.

1. Maiṙġ iaṙṙaṙ iomlaoiḋ cáinte
connṙaḋ aṙ ċúiṙ miofáilte
ḋá ġcáineaṙ an té ṙem ċaoiḃ
'ṙ mé ḋo ċáineaḋ 'n-a ċomaoin.

2. Aiṫiṙ naċ aḋḃaṙ beaḋġṫa
cṙéaċt i ġcomaoin foiṙḋeaṙġṫa
ḋíoġa ġaiṙġiḋ ġoin aṙ ġoin
oil i n-aiṙġiḋ ní faġṫoiṙ.

3. Níoṙ ḋeaṙġ ġṙuaiḋ naṙ ġṙíoṙaḋ féin
ní ċuġ aiṙġ naċ uaiṙ toiḃéim
maiṙġ lén hionmain aḋaint ċáiġ
aṙ malaiṙt n-ionnlaiġ ḋ'faġáil.

4. Gá ḋú aċt ní ċioḃṙa miṙe
cáineaḋ ḋo ċionn aiṫiṙe
mo ċealġ buḋ cṙéaċt gan ċumail
maiṙġ ḋán héact aṙ n-ionnaṁail.

5. Ní ḋíol liom a loṙ m'fola
ingṙeim fiṙ mo ċognoṁa
buḋ ġṙíoṙaḋ gan fáṫ aṙ n-oil
ní ġṙíoṙaḃ cáċ 'n-a ċionaiḋ.

6. Do ġeaḃainn ḋá ngaḃḋaoiṙ uaim
ḃeiṫ gan ḃuaiḋ ḃeiṫ gan ḋiombuaiḋ
ṙe a ḋteanġṫaiḃ a-tú meaṫta
ġeaṙṙċaiṙ cú na coingleaca.

7. Aḋ-loċaṙ ḋon fláiṫ ṙom ċum
a ndeaṙnaḋ d'éiġceaṙt oṙum
fuaṙaṙ ġuin naċ ġṙíoṙṙa aṙ neiṁ
ní ioḃ-ṙa fuil 'n-a aiġiḋ.

8. Do fearar ní horm ar fal
mo chuba le tár mbriathar
ir áilne iná adhnadh cáis
náire gan adhbar d'fagáil.

9. Ní beag díogaltar Dé móir
i ndiaidh an ionnlais éagcóir
mirde an té lé dtabhair gut
gan é 'n-a agaidh d'ionnlucadh.

10. Ní dearg arm nach d'arm barrgar
glór lorga re a ard-arbal
ní ar t'omhan a fir mo luit
nach gonadh ib 'n-a éaruic.

11. Do féachfuighteá ar t'anim féin
dá leanta lorg an troirgéil
a chomurra ó do cí rib
a mbí orum-sa d'anim.

12. Ní chreidim go gcuala rib
mar rug breith 'n-a breith fuaithnidh
an Rí ceart coimrid nime
'ran foirm-sin eacht d'áirithe.

13. Lá n-aon i n-larúsa-léim
teagar cuige cúir aighéil
bain-ghiall ar ar bairdeadh cair
nar cairgeadh d'anmhian eadraidh.

14. An bean ad cí ar cách uile
a lor a locht gcolnuighe
a-dhé ó cheart a clochadh
'ran reacht ór é ar ordochadh.

15. Gidh bé ar Dia nach dearna cair
buaileadh claidh ar an gcionntaigh
i mearg cáis már amhlan í
cáir a damhnadh mar deirtí.

16. Cuimhnigidh coirthe gach fir
a lor fuighill Dé dúilig
nior léir dóidh dia do chuigre
cia dar cóir a clochaidh-re.

17. Mar do faor cuimne a Scion fein
An mnaoi ndrúit ón druing aigméil
Air fein dá bréagad gach fear
Do déanad céill fém cáinead.

18. Maitim don méid dá ndliogar
Beit coídce dom coimiogad
Mar tá mé ná léigead leinn
An té nach éidear d'ingneim.

19. Gach coimeasc ar cormail finn
Caiteas a cloic fam tuairim
Bíod 'n-a leit ór é a n-obar
Tar breit nDé mo díobrogad.

20. Aitcim a fíod fléactaim dáib
Éirgid díom diúltaim teagmáil
Lucht cáig i gcogar do cailg
Ní náir obad a n-iomairg.

Mairg.

Translation

1. Woe to him who seeks to deal in insults. If I revile my neighbour, and am reviled in turn, 'tis a traffic causing ill-feeling.

2. To inflict a wound in return for a satire—an offence not worth wincing under —or even for a wound, is poor chivalry; no insult goes unpunished (by God).

3. No man ever reddened cheek but was himself scorched; no man uttered abuse but was afterwards chidden; he who loves to annoy others, woe to him when attacked in his turn.

4. And so I will not repay abuse with insult; an attack on me shall be a wound entailing no fine; I pity him who deems it heroic to attack one like me.

5. I care not to attack, in revenge for my blood, him who bites me; an insult to me shall be an unprovoked scathing; I will revile no man for his offence.

6. I should prefer—if they let me—to do without either victory or defeat; I act the coward before their tongues; let some quarrelsome dog get bitten.

7. I thank my Creator for the injustice done me; the wound I have received shall not stir my venom; I will draw no blood to avenge it.

8. Not on me, I am sure, falls the disgrace when overwhelmed with insulting words; to bear undeserved insult is nobler than to anger my neighbour.

9. Great is God's vengeance on unjust reviling; the insulter fares worse when not insulted in turn.

10. "No man reddens a sword but is struck by a sword"—so spake Jesus to His chief Apostle; 'tis not through fear of thee, my assailant, that I shall refrain from wounding thee in turn.

11. When thou seest my fault, my friend, thou wouldst, if thou didst obey the Gospel, look on thy own too.

12. Thou hast not heard, methinks, how in the following way the just King, Lord of Heaven, once uttered a judgment, a notable one.

13. One day in Jerusalem there is brought to Him—sad case!—a prisoner, against whom the charge was stated that she was unrestrained from the passion of adultery.

14. "The woman thou seest" say they all "is, for her carnal sins, rightly condemned to stoning, since such is the ordinance of the Law."

15. "Whichever of you" says Christ "has done no wrong, let him cast a stone at the sinner; if she (alone) be impure among you all, it is just to condemn her, as you say."

16. At the Creator's word—what wisdom!—they recall their sins, those of each of them; they knew not which had the right to stone her.

17. As the memory of their sins saved the adulteress from that fierce throng, so, if each one looked to himself, he would take thought before reviling me.

18. I let those, who have a right to do so, revile me for ever; let him, who is proof against attack, leave me no peace.

19. But the sinner, who is like me and yet casts a stone at me, let him be charged—for this is forbidden—with casting at me against God's Law.

20. I beg their pardon; I bow before them; let them leave me at peace; I decline to fight; 'tis no shame to refuse to attack folk who calumniate their neighbour.

Notes

[MSS. R. I. A. 23, F 16, p. 31 (F); 23 L 17, p. 116 (L); 24 P 12, p. 155 (P); A iv. 3 (A); Stand. O'Grady (*Cat. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, p. 463) gives a translation of vv. 5, 7-12].

1*a* ċ L *b* c. LPA; ṁ. LP. 2*a* aiṫear FP. *c* ɡairɡe F. *d* airɡe F; ꝑaṡṫar A. 3*b* For airɡ *cf.* Eriu iii, p. 113; Ir. Gr. Tr. l. 678; ḃruair AF. 4*c* ċailɡ AF. *d* mionṫaṁain F. 5*d* ɡníomaṁ L. 7 follows 8 in F. 8 not in P. *b* ċuṡa F. 9*b* néaɡcóir L. 10*a* níor L; ċearɡar L. 11*c* or ċí P. 12 follows 13 in A. *a* ní cormail L. 13*a* lamru. P, lamra A. *b* ċeaɡan, usually impersonal form of *pres. indic.* of ċiɡim, is here used for cuɡ(ċ)ar. *c* foiléir LA. 16*a* cuire P. cionṫa F. 17*a* ɡcean LF. *b* airṁéil L, nairṁéil FA. 18*a* roleaṡar F. *b* ċoimeaṡaḋ F. *c* aṫá F. 19*a* coimeaċ F, cionṫaċ A; cormail LFA. 20*b* cairɡio ṁiom FAP. *c* ċailɡ used as verb-noun. *d* an niomairɡ A.

TARSUS, THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PAUL

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.,

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EVERYONE knows the vivid story told in the Acts of the Apostles of how St. Paul was rescued from an excited mob at Jerusalem by the Roman tribune Lysias, and how he astonished that officer by asking in elegant Greek for permission to speak to his would-be slayers. "What!" said Lysias; "you know Greek?" "I am a Jew," said Paul, "a Tarsian from Cilicia, citizen of no mean city." He was granted leave to speak, but only angered the crowd still more by what he said. The officer, puzzled to know who this troublesome agitator might be, told his centurion to take and flog him till he should explain why he had so stirred up the populace. Lysias was acting evidently on the good militarist principle for dealing with natives: "When in doubt, flog." His difficulties had only begun, however, for Paul at once demanded whether they could flog a Roman citizen untried? "You a Roman citizen!" said the tribune; "I paid a big price for *my* citizenship." "I was born one," said Paul. His privilege saved him from a flogging, but not from the haughty attentions of Felix and Festus, the governors of Judea, and the uncertainties of five years in prison.

Tarsus, in the days of St. Paul, was indeed no mean city. It was of immemorial antiquity, with a population markedly Asiatic in type, but for all that a self-governing Greek community, numbering not much less than half-a-million, and not far behind Athens or Alexandria in size and dignity. It was the metropolis of the Roman province of Cilicia, and a city much favoured by the Roman government. Its history as a rich and powerful settlement was to be nearly as long and strangely varied in the future

as it had been in the past. Yet it is now, and has remained for seven centuries, a humble Turkish village; its old rival Adana has the not very high dignity of capital in a remote Turkish province; and its territory, never very salubrious—did not Alexander suffer from a Cilician fever?—is even more moist and malarial now than formerly. Its only title to our remembrance is St. Paul's claim to its citizenship; a claim that Alexandria and other Greek cities at any rate would have vigorously contested as coming from a Jew. But if, for the sake of St. Paul, we enter a little further into its fragmentary story, we shall find there perhaps one or two other matters to interest us.

The Cilician plain on which it stood is neither very large nor very beautiful, being the formation of three rivers that bring down the silt of Taurus and Amanus to the sea. It is roughly triangular in shape, cut off from Asia Minor in the north by the mighty barrier of the Taurus range and from Syria in the East by almost equally mighty Amanus. Each of its three rivers had a city on its banks: Tarsus stood on the Cydnus, the least of the three and the most westerly; Adana on the longer Sarus, in the middle; and to the east Mallos on the Pyramus, whose ever-advancing silt has blotted out all vestige of the town. Between the Sarus and the Pyramus lay the plain which seems to have given its earliest name to Cilicia, the Aleian plain, known from the story of Bellerophon in the *Iliad* as a lonely place far from men. The situation of Tarsus was the poorest of the three, and it owed its greatness solely to the labour of its early citizens. One peculiarity of its structure impressed later Greek visitors: it was the city of its river, built on flat soil, and had no fortified acropolis such as most Greek cities had. Higher up, on the spurs of Taurus, there was another Tarsus, which seems to have served the citizens at once as citadel and summer residence. There was rivalry always between the three cities, of which we only hear

vague rumours now and then; but Tarsus generally, in ancient times, succeeded in keeping the upper hand over Mallos and Adana.

The historical role of the Cilician plain has always been to serve as a way of entry from the Western Sea to the high plateau of Asia Minor. When there is pressure from West to East Cilicia becomes important; when the centre of gravity shifts eastward, it ceases to play any great part in history. So we hear of it very early in the first Greek movements to Asia Minor. When Assyria and Persia establish impregnable rule over the plateau, Cilicia is hidden from our knowledge. The coming of Alexander gives it fresh significance, and in Roman times it rises to its highest prosperity. In the Crusades again, when West is attacking East, Tarsus and the whole region become a battleground. Destroyed by Arab invasions, the city was rebuilt by Harun ar-Rashid himself, and from 1080-1274 A.D. it had the peculiar destiny of seeing its last glories as the seat of an Armenian dynasty. In 1274 it was destroyed once more by the great Baibars, the Mameluke conqueror of the Mongols, and never rose again to be more than a village.

There was scarcely any city of the ancient world where Greek and Oriental met and mingled for so long a period as in Tarsus. It was always somewhat more Oriental in character than either Adana or Mallos, and the mixture is clearly reflected throughout its history in its legends, coinage, and institutions. Dion of Prusa, whose visit to Tarsus in the reign of Trajan gave occasion for two of his most characteristic addresses, remarks on the modest and severe training of its women, who dressed when abroad so that "neither their faces nor any other part of their bodies could be seen." This is of course an Oriental trait, and was evidently unusual in Greek cities, even in Asia Minor. During the Hellenistic period, when Greek culture spread everywhere, this sort of mixture became the common character of the whole Eastern

Mediterranean world. St. Paul's vocation to be the apostle of this world of Greek culture superimposed on a medley of Oriental race and religion must have derived no small assistance from the fact that he belonged himself to a community where the medley was very ancient.

According to a modern identification, the records of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt already show us an old and wealthy civilisation in Asi and Alasa—Asia and the Aleian plain. Documents of later date, published during the last ten years, make it appear that Cilicia served as a portal for the Greeks, not merely to the East, but into History itself. The newly-deciphered Hittite records of Boghaz-Keui tell of a raid on the province of Arzawa (South-West Asia Minor) by Attarssiyas, king of Akhkhiyawa, about 1250 B.C. During this raid a district called Alashiya, and plausibly identified with the Egyptian Alasa and the Greek Aleian Plain, was laid waste. It is certain that the Akhkhiyawa are the Achaeans, called Akaiwasha by the contemporary Egyptain records. The king Attarssiyas has been usually identified with Atreus, but Sayce is more correct in rejecting this as phonetically impossible, and seeing in this king rather the hero Perseus, to whom the foundation of Tarsus is regularly attributed. There is a Greek legend which tells of a descent on Asia Minor by Perseus with a hundred ships, the number mentioned also in the Hittite document. At first sight the resemblance between Perseus and Attarssiyas is not obvious ; but there was an obscure Anatolian consonant represented in different words by pt, p and t, and the same sound is probably the initial of the name Tarsus itself, which would thus be connected with that of its founder.

A further identification, this time concerned with the Bible, bears out this conjecture. In the tenth chapter of Genesis we are told that one of the sons of Japhet was Javan, and that Javan's sons were Elisa (Elisha) and Tharsis (Tarshish), Cetthim (Kittim) and Dodanim.

Now Javan was indubitably the universal Eastern word for "Greek," and is the same as Iawon, "Ionian," the chief Greek people known to the Orient. Josephus in ancient times equated Tarshish with Tarsus and Kittim with Cyprus, while the Septuagint has "Rhodioi" for Dodanim, and modern scholars accept this equivalence. Elisha has always been more uncertain, but bears a great resemblance to the name of the district mentioned in the Hittite record, Alashiya, the Aleian plain. Thus when Genesis was composed the Greek peoples known to the Hebrews were the early colonists of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Cilicia, and Tarsus was already prominent as a Greek city.

As to who exactly these Ionians were, beyond the certainty that they were Greek-speaking, we have no knowledge. The later Tarsians claimed to be of Argive origin, but either these Argives came in the second century B.C. or they were not Dorian Argives. The name of the Cilician hero Mopsus, after whom Mopsucrene in Tarsian territory was called, connects the early colonists rather with the Ionian Apollo of Claros, near the coast of Asia Minor; and evidence from Pamphylia, the mountainous district to the west of Cilicia, as well as from Cyprus, seems to show that the Greek spoken in early times in these regions was not Doric, but akin to the archaic dialect of Arcadia.

The name Ionian and the name Achaean are in all probability but two names for the same people. It was to these early colonists that Tarsus owed the two features which gave it the lead long afterwards in Cilicia—its harbour, and its passage over Mount Taurus into Anatolia. Below Tarsus the Cydnus almost loses itself in the flat plain. It formed in early times a marshy lake called the Rhegma, five miles below the town, and thereafter oozed through shallow and sluggish channels to the sea. The Ionian settlers drained this estuary and turned the Rhegma into a commodious basin, around which developed the harbour of Tarsus, and to which a deepened

river-bed gave easy access from the Mediterranean. Having thus made their city into an emporium for sea-borne commerce, they turned to the still harder task of giving this commerce a land-way to the Anatolian plateau. Where a mountain stream had cut a narrow channel through Mt. Taurus, finally going underground beneath the hill, these enterprising settlers hewed a broad waggon-road through sheer rock, over which caravans could move northward into Cappadocian Tyana and on to Lycaonia. We do not hear of the Cilician gates in history till 401 B.C., when Cyrus the Younger passed through them on his way to Cunaxa ; but there can be little doubt that they are one of the earliest and most impressive feats of Greek engineering.

These two achievements, the harbour and the mountain-road, gave to the early Tarsians advantages which their natural situation had denied them. We next hear of Cilicia and Tarsus from the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, who exacted a rich tribute in gold and silver from the town in 832 B.C. After his time, " Khilakku " is often mentioned on Assyrian royal records as part of the sphere of influence of the warlike lords of Niniveh. Persia succeeded to the heritage of Assyria, and Tarsus formed a part of the more highly organised Persian dominions, but was still apparently allowed a good deal of local independence. We hear in both Herodotus and Xenophon of Cilician rulers whose seat was Tarsus, and all of whom were called by the same name, Syennesis. This appears to have been a dynastic divine name taken by priest-kings at their accession. One such dynast accompanied Xerxes to Salamis ; another, eighty years later, shuffled between allegiance to Darius and fear of the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus. He sent his queen Epyaxa with gifts to Cyrus, and she was much frightened by a mock charge of the Greeks in full armour ; but at the same time he sent his eldest son to Darius. Cyrus tried to save the face of the princeling, but the Greek soldiers got out of hand,

plundered Tarsus, "a great and wealthy city," and destroyed its palace. To buy them off, Syennesis presented Cyrus with a horse whose bridle was of gold, and with gold necklaces and bracelets, and a golden sword and a suit of Persian clothes. Such dynasties of priest-kings were common from early times all over Asia Minor. After this we hear of no other Syennesis, whether Darius took revenge for this one's double-dealing by abolishing his principality, or whether its abolition was the work of the ferocious Ochos, who later in the century made an end of the last native Egyptian dynasty.

The name of the Tarsian rulers alone would serve to show that under Persia the Oriental element in the city prevailed over the Greek. A very interesting series of coins, beginning under the Persian hegemony, bears this out. These coins are only rarely Persian in type: one such has the winged symbol of Ormuzd rising from the solar disk. They are mainly native Tarsian and bear either a seated deity resembling the Greek Zeus, except that he holds an ear of corn or a bunch of grapes in his hand; or else a younger god, standing on a horned lion, and carrying a wreath, a sword, or the Hittite double axe. The legend on the coins designates the seated god as Baal-Tarz, the Lord of Tarsus, in the Aramaic language, which was the Persian *lingua franca*. But he was no Semitic Baal. Ramsay has shown that the younger and the older god are but aspects of the one seasonal divinity, similar to the Attis of Phrygia, who waxed and waned with the year, and fructified the earth. He was burned in effigy yearly at Tarsus, but was thought to rise again renewed from his pyre. The native names of the dyad were Sandan and Tarku, both apparently Hittite in origin, and we find them both repeatedly in Tarsian nomenclature. Which was Sandan and which was Tarku we cannot say; probably they were interchangeable, like Dionysos and Bacchos. They were identified in the local Greek legends with Perseus, the

city's founder, who seems to have been given Dionysiac attributes, or with Heracles, who is sometimes given a share in the foundation, and was likewise burnt on a pyre. The religion of Tarsus was evidently of the ecstatic Anatolian kind, with a wild and perhaps obscene and bloody ritual such as Cybele's was.

Alexander's conquest of Persia gave back Tarsus to the Greek world. On his death it became part of the vast dominions of Seleucus, "the Conqueror," who carved out for himself a kingdom reaching from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Like Alexander, the Seleucid monarchs set themselves to spread Greek culture everywhere, and built new Greek towns all over their dominions. More liberal than the Ptolemies, they encouraged the Greek institution of the self-governing city-state. Asia Minor was always their debatable land, and Tarsus became for them a pivotal point on the great road system leading from their capital, Antioch, through the Syrian Gates into Cilicia, and from thence by the Cilician Gates and over the Lycaonian uplands to the valleys of Miletus, Ephesus, and Smyrna. They strove to introduce their Oriental subjects to Greek ways, and became particularly interested in "civilising" the Jews. Already in the end of the third century, Antiochus the Great, who repeated the exploits of the founder of his line and annexed Palestine from Egypt, had introduced Jewish garrisons into posts in Asia Minor. His glories were sadly dimmed at the end of his reign by the new Roman power, which drove him out of Greece and Asia Minor, and confined his kingdom to the east of Taurus.

His son, Antiochus Epiphanes, "The God made manifest," who is painted so darkly for us by the chronicler of the Maccabees, was in reality a wise and prudent ruler according to his lights. Like his contemporary, Perseus of Macedon, he determined to consolidate his power within his narrowed bounds, and for this purpose entered on a more determined policy of creating a single Greek

nationality out of his very varied subject-peoples. His personal excesses, typical of nearly all the great Macedonian rulers, should not blind us to his statesmanlike qualities. The second book of Maccabees gives us a vividly-coloured picture of how his efforts were received. By this time Greek education had acquired a formal character; all young Greeks were subjected to a two years' semi-military training in gymnasia, which have given their name to the German high-schools of to-day. This training was not only physical, but mental, and involved the performance of certain religious rites. It is curious to remark that one of the innovations most objected to by the Jews was the compulsion on their young men to wear hats. The Greek *petasos* was, however, less innocuous if perhaps more aesthetic than the bowler which arouses the wrath of the Mohammedan mullahs of to-day. It was the symbol of gymnastic abominations, the naked games and the idol-worship, against which pious Jews revolted. At the beginning, indeed, Jewish leaders like Jason the high-priest, and Menelaos, were willing enough to take Greek names and invite the king to introduce Greek abominations into Jerusalem, and rename it Antiochia. But the indignation of the more sober Jews soon flamed into revolt, and brought Antiochus once more into collision with the Romans.

Before this happened, however, he had taken in Cilicia the steps which led long afterwards to Paul's being able to claim Tarsian citizenship. The second book of Maccabees gives us a romantic reason for his new departure in Tarsus, but there was undoubtedly deep policy in it as well. He had presented Tarsus to his concubine Antiochis, and its citizens, who evidently regarded their city already as no mean one, raised such a storm of protest that he came in person to make amends. His repentance must have profited himself as much as Tarsus. He refounded the city, renamed it "Antioch-on-the-Cydnus," and planted in it a large colony of new Greek citizens, mostly

from Argos. It was henceforth to be a free city, with its own magistrates and popular assembly and its own coinage. We have a series of the new Greek coins of Tarsus; they still have on the reverse its old seated god, but now he is a purely Greek Zeus, with no outlandish attributes, and on the obverse a brand-new Greek goddess, the city's "Fortune" or symbol of its corporate life, with a turret for her crown. The new name did not last long; Tarsus was soon Tarsus again, but the new free institutions remained, and Tarsus was now the seat of a flourishing Greek university. At the same time Cilicia was filled with new Greek cities and old ones reorganised; no less than fifty foundations of Antiochus in this small territory are recorded. Mallos in particular raised its head once more, and became a seat of learning which produced the renowned Crates, who inspired the beginnings of Latin artistic prose when detained in Rome by a broken leg.

Along with the new Greek citizen-body, there was settled in Tarsus a large contingent of Jews, with whom the king was not yet at loggerheads, and upon whom he looked, not as a thorn in his side, but as valuable allies in his policy. The Tarsian Jews seem to have been one of the largest and most important communities of their race on foreign soil outside Alexandria, and were perhaps more privileged than the Alexandrian Jews. Unfortunately we have no documents to throw light on their status such as are provided both by historians and by recently-edited papyri for their brethren in Egypt. It is difficult to see how Jews could be citizens of any Greek city, where the franchise was strictly bound up with pagan religious observances such as caused the revolt of the Maccabees. Ramsay believed that both in Alexandria and Tarsus the Jews were a special tribe organised exactly like ordinary Greek tribes or wards, only with their own religious rites. But the rites of the tribe were not the only ones essential for citizenship; there were also educational and other institutions, and recent researches have

tended to the conclusion that the Jews were not members of tribes at all, and that their citizen-status was less definite than that of the heterogeneous pagans who called themselves Greeks.

In Alexandria at any rate it is clear that Jews were excluded from the educational facilities enjoyed by full citizens, and that though they claimed these facilities, this claim was made only by the less orthodox among them. On the other side, attempts were made to depress them to the status, or rather lack of status, of Egyptian natives. Their own organisation seems to have been what was called in Egypt a "politeuma" or sub-city within the city, whose members did not rank as full citizens, but in some cases could enjoy what in Greek law at this time was called "isopolity." This gave them a claim to citizenship, but probably only on fulfilment of certain conditions. We can only argue on analogy from Alexandria to Tarsus, but nowadays scholars hold that what St. Paul enjoyed in the latter city was just this "isopolity," which gave him a claim to citizenship without its religious implications. In Tarsus, however, we never hear of the same tension between Jews and Greeks as prevailed in Alexandria, and it is very probable that the foundation of Antiochus Epiphanes gave Tarsian Jews a secure status which the more liberal Seleucids and the less purely Hellenic city never afterwards challenged.

From 171 B.C., the date of its new birth, till the reign of Augustus, Tarsus does not occupy much space in history. As the Seleucid kingdom declined in weakness and anarchy, Cilicia became a famous haunt of pirates, and it was the visit of Pompey, about 64 B.C., in his capacity of High Admiral of Rome, that brought Tarsus into touch with its new masters and led to Paul's more exclusive privilege. After Pompey's time. Tarsus became the capital of the Roman province of Cilicia, and in that capacity was the seat of the homesick Cicero, who, however, tells us little of it. The Tarsians espoused Caesar's

cause with vigour, and for a time changed their city's name to Juliopolis. After his death they stood siege from the Republican forces, and received Antony with open arms. One of the most splendid moments in Tarsian history was the day when Cleopatra, attired as Venus, sailed up the Cydnus to begin the great adventure in love and high politics that led to her illustrious doom.

Augustus treated Tarsus well, renewed its privileges, and was in later times accounted the author of its freedom. In sober truth, however, he only enhanced its freedom by limiting the number of those who enjoyed it. Possibly as a result of the hectic experiences it had undergone Tarsian democracy had by this time somewhat run to seed. The city was ruled by a turbulent, noisy and corrupt faction. The Emperor sent his old tutor, Athenodorus, pupil of Posidonius and renowned for his learning, to restore order. Athenodorus was himself a native of Canana, a village near Tarsus ; his father bore the typically ancient Tarsian name of Sandon. He had studied abroad ; his works were used by Cicero for his treatise on duty ; he was the teacher not only of Augustus, about his relations with whom some rather silly anecdotes were afterwards told, but also of Augustus' beloved and short-lived heir Marcellus. Probably by virtue of his association with Posidonius, he united with the Stoic love of contemplation the Platonic belief in the virtue of active citizenship. His tenets on this matter are set forth in a long quotation given us by Seneca from his writings. He has every claim to be accounted the most distinguished of Tarsians next to Paul himself.

Athenodorus not only reformed the city's constitution, restricting the franchise to a small number of wealthy people, but also remained behind to shed lustre on the University of Tarsus. Strabo, who was a great admirer of the philosopher, the city, and the University, gives us a glowing account of the latter. It stood only inferior to Alexandria and Athens, but it had two special features :

its students were all natives, and they mostly emigrated when they had finished their courses. Its curriculum was wide, and embraced the whole "rounded education" (*enkyklios paideia*), which about that time began to take regular form. Athenodorus was succeeded in it by Nestor, a Platonist, whose lectures St. Paul may have heard. Nestor also took a great share in local politics; so much so that Ramsay remarks that Tarsus presents us with a unique example of a city governed for many years by a dictatorship of university professors.

It was in this half-Greek, half-Oriental community that St. Paul acquired the qualities which made him uniquely fitted for his great missionary and literary achievement. His Roman citizenship ensured him a position of high dignity, united as it was to membership, or a claim to membership, of the now very exclusive citizen-body of Tarsus itself. We know even less of his Roman privileges than his Tarsian; but it was easier for a Jew to be a Roman citizen, which really amounted only to having formal legal status in our sense, than to be a Greek one. Even the origin of Paul's Roman name is a mystery to us; he must have had two more, but we know nothing of them. He was, as he said himself, a Pharisee and son of Pharisees, spent part of his youth in Jerusalem, and doubtless owed little or nothing of his religious ideas to Greek influence. His religion came from his fathers and from his experience on the Damascus road; but the capacity for expressing it in Greek terms and making it acceptable to the wide world where Greek meant culture was derived from his birth and upbringing in the busy, wealthy, and immemorially mixed city under the Cilician hills. Perhaps when the Ghazi shall have succeeded in the "Westernizing" experiment of Epiphanes, excavation may teach us more than we know now about the birthplace of the citizen whose name has kept Tarsus alive in human memory.

M. Tierney.

THE STIGMATICA OF KONNERSREUTH

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

SINCE the time of Louise Lateau, who died in 1883, no case has been so widely discussed by a public normally little interested in mystical phenomena as that of Theresia Neumann, the ecstatic of Konnersreuth. In 1871-1876, when the battle which raged in the medical world over the stigmata of Louise Lateau was at its height, very much less was understood about neurology and the psychology of the abnormal than is known now. It is true that a reviewer in *The Lancet* showed willingness to admit the fact of Louise's periodical hæmorrhages. " Her meditations on the crucifixion," he wrote, " actively excited by the Friday, at last culminated in the flow of blood corresponding to that from the wounded side. Such affection, brooded over, would naturally enough be followed by the appearance of the other stigmata." But an eminent physician of those days, Sir Samuel Wilks, F.R.S., was by no means content to allow a statement of this sort to pass without protest.

> This [he commented] is certainly a most remarkable utterance to proceed *ex cathedra* from a medical journal ; for if excessive anguish can cause an exudation of blood through the skin, it is extending our views of the influence of the mind over the body to a much wider range than is generally allowed, and to admit that such exudation might occur at those spots where the whole power of the will is concentrated is certainly propounding a very startling doctrine.[1]

The attitude of Professor R. Virchow, then regarded as the foremost pathologist in Europe, was even more uncompromising. At a scientific congress held at Breslau in 1873 he delivered a philippic against the imbecile Belgian doctors who had treated the Lateau case as

[1] *Guy's Hospital Reports* (Series III, Vol. 17), 1872, p. 219.

matter for serious investigation. It was, he said, *Betrug oder Wunder*, either imposture or a miracle, and with regard to her alleged asitia, he grew merry at the expense of people who believed that a human being could go on for years exhaling carbon dioxide without absorbing into the system any nutriment which might supply the carbon required. From the 13 April, 1871, Louise, like Theresia Neumann now, was not known to take either food or drink, with the exception of the particle she received daily in Holy Communion, and there seems the strongest reason to believe that this abstention, in spite of efforts to the contrary imposed upon her from time to time by obedience, continued uninterruptedly down to the time of her death, which occurred more than fourteen years later. Adequate demonstration of so protracted an *inedia* is, of course, out of the question, but no suspicious circumstance was ever detected which pointed to the surreptitious consumption of food, and the many tests applied by the commissions appointed to examine into the poor girl's condition all gave results which favoured her absolute honesty. Moreover, when in March, 1878, she was believed to be *in extremis*, a direct question was solemnly put to her in the name of ecclesiastical authority ; to which she replied : " In the presence of God, who is to be my judge, and of the death I am expecting, I assure you that I have neither eaten nor drunk for seven years."

The doubts expressed by sceptics regarding the spontaneous bleeding after stigmata on Fridays were set at rest by a much more decisive test. Already the ecclesiastical commission had enclosed her hands in gloves securely tied and sealed, exactly as had been done more than three centuries earlier in the case of Santa Lucia di Narni, and in spite of this precaution the hands on the Friday had bled as usual. But in 1875 it was suggested that even through the gloves Louise might have been able by some ingenious method of friction to produce a

laceration of the epidermis. Accordingly Dr. Warlomont, acting in behalf of the Belgian Academy of Medicine, devised an apparatus consisting essentially of a cylinder of glass in which on the Thursday evening when the hand showed no sign of abrasure, Louise's right arm was securely fixed. The circumstances were such as to preclude any possibility of trickery, but on the Friday, when the seals were found still intact and the hand was released, a wound was disclosed which had bled freely and which was exactly similar to that in the left hand and to those in the feet. The Academy of Medicine, after some discussion, considered the experiment (which was further borne out by other observations) to be decisive, and passed a resolution to the effect that the stigmatization and ecstasy of Louise Lateau were authentic facts in which trickery had no place, and that medical science in its present state of development had no adequate explanation to offer.

Although when public attention in Germany was first directed to the crowds of pilgrims who were flocking to Konnersreuth, not a few rationalists raised an outcry in terms which plainly insinuated that the phenomena were fraudulent, still Theresia Neumann has on the whole had much less reason to complain of the attitude of secular public opinion than Louise Lateau in 1871 or than Anne Catherine Emmerich had half a century earlier. The pictures in the illustrated papers, showing hundreds of patient devotees waiting four abreast outside the Pfarrhaus in the hope of obtaining a glimpse of the sufferer in her ecstasy, cannot have failed[1] to make an impression. Moreover, a certain familiarity with the strange cures of shell-shock patients and with the reports of mediumistic wonders in the séance room, not to speak of the ever-present and tangible marvel of radio-telegraphy, have

[1] An issue of the Berlin *Bilder-Courier* which I have seen reproduces such a photograph with the title : " *Thousands* stand in a queue (*Tausende stehen Schlange*) every Friday to see the ' Miracle ' of the stigmatization of Therese Neumann."

all done something to shake the robust scepticism which reigned in educated circles from the days of Voltaire to those of Huxley and Tyndall. In the August of last year the well-known organ of the Catholic Centre party, the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, published a short series of articles upon Konnersreuth, contributed, as was plainly stated, by a cultivated Protestant who had been allowed every facility to converse with Theresia and to witness the Friday ecstasy. He did not give his name, but the editor declared him to be a man whose high character, public position, and recognised ability guaranteed the reliability and impartiality of his descriptions. The writer had evidently been deeply impressed by what he had seen. He cast no suspicion upon the genuineness of the facts alleged. He agreed that science at present can offer no satisfactory explanation, but he thinks that a hundred years hence an explanation may be forthcoming. Meanwhile he is not unwilling that Catholics should use the word "miracle" when God produces effects by natural causes which are hidden from us in our present stage of development, but are possibly discoverable by generations to come. For him "miracle" is not an absolute but a relative term. It always implies a reference to some continually progressing standard of scientific knowledge. Many cures, phenomena, revelations, etc., which were legitimately accounted miracles in the middle ages would no longer be miracles now.[1]

The story of Theresia Neumann is by this time so well known that a lengthy account can hardly be needed. Konnersreuth is a village in the Oberpfalz, to the south-east of the Fichtel-Gebirge. As the crow flies, the nearest resort frequented by visitors is probably Marienbad, but that is in Czechoslovakia, whereas Konnersreuth is on Bavarian territory and belongs to the diocese of Regensburg. Theresia, the daughter of the village tailor, is now thirty years old, the eldest of a family of ten. She is

[1] See *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 20 Aug., 1928. (Morgen-Ausgabe).

said to have been a strong healthy girl until during the war she took service as a farm hand, and in 1918 injured her spine by lifting heavy buckets of water in the effort to put out a fire. For a time she struggled on, doing odd jobs of a lighter kind, but a few months later she was completely paralysed and had to take to her bed, one of her legs being doubled under her. Bedsores and other troubles supervened, and in 1919 she lost her sight. For nearly four years she lay in this condition, things going from bad to worse. She had, however, always had a great devotion to the little Carmelite of Lisieux, and on 29 April, 1923, the day of the beatification of Santa Teresita, to use the title by which the Spaniards affectionately distinguish the younger saint from her namesake of Avila, the poor sufferer at Konnersreuth unexpectedly had her sight restored to her. For the rest, her condition remained unchanged, but two years later, on the day of Teresita's canonization, 17 May, 1925, a very startling incident occurred. The invalid seemed to pass into a state of trance. Pfarrer Naber, the parish priest, who had been her director from childhood, was hastily summoned. She lay on her bed gazing intently into space, her face radiant, her hands stretched out towards some invisible object. She seemed to be holding a conversation with someone, when suddenly she sat up, mastering a spasm of intense pain, but taking a position which had been impossible for her at any time in the previous six years. When Theresia came completely to herself, it was found that her limbs were straightened, that she was able to take a few steps when supported, and that in her trance she had been conscious of a luminous but formless presence and had heard a kindly voice addressing her. The voice had asked her whether she wished to be cured. She had replied that she wished only what God willed. The voice told her that she would be able to go about again, but that she would still have to suffer many things in which medical aid would be of

no avail. Further, she heard the words : " I have helped thee (*dir*) in the past, and I will help thee again in times to come " ; and again : " I have written that more souls are saved by suffering than by sermons." The epigram was recognised as a textual quotation from one of the letters of Thérèse of Lisieux, and in this way the identity of her benefactress was placed beyond a doubt. On September 30, the anniversary of Teresita's death, the same mysterious light was seen again and the same friendly voice encouraged the patient to walk alone ; but two months later she was stricken down by what was diagnosed as an acute attack of appendicitis, necessitating an immediate operation. While preparations were being made for this, the poor sufferer asked her confessor, Pfarrer Naber, whether in view of her mother's poignant distress it would be permissible to pray to Santa Teresita to cure her. With his approval she then pressed a relic of the saint against the seat of the pain. Once again the mysterious light was seen, and the same voice enjoined her to get up and pay a visit to the church. She obeyed, the pain was gone, and the doctor, when he saw her, found to his stupefaction that all traces of inflammation had disappeared.

It is a curious fact, which certainly supplies much food for reflection, that so many of the holy mystics who have exhibited the phenomena of stigmatization have not only been subject to strange and sudden neurotic diseases, but have also been singled out for remarkable and equally sudden cures which were commonly held to be miraculous. It was so with Louise Lateau ; it was so with Gemma Galgani ; it was so with the Syrian Carmelite, Sister Mary of Jesus Crucified ; it is obviously so with Theresia Neumann. All these are quite modern examples ; but the same coincidence may be noticed in those of older date, for example, in the case of St. Veronica Giuliani. I am far from saying that this circumstance, even if it could be called an invariable law, constitutes a proof that

the appearance of the stigmata is due to no deeper cause than the suggestibility of the subject, but it is certainly an element in the case which ought not to be left out of account in forming a final judgment.

Turning now to the developments which have made Konnersreuth a centre of attraction to German Catholics and to many visitors from afar, we have to note that during the lent of 1926 Theresia's sufferings entered upon a new phase. At Shrovetide blood began to flow from her eyes, a not very common manifestation, but one which had been spoken of a good deal in the Catholic papers during the previous year. At Montalto Uffugo, in Calabria, the mystic Elena Ajello had on two or three successive Good Fridays fallen into an ecstasy during which she was said to have witnessed all the scenes of the Sacred Passion. In the anguish of her sympathy with our suffering Redeemer blood had flowed in streams from her eyes, and her side and feet were also marked with wounds in the form of stigmata. There is no information available which would show that Theresia in her remote Bavarian village had heard anything of this, but it is noteworthy that in both these contemporary manifestations the tears of blood which flow in streams across the face during the time of esctasy are referred to as the feature which more than any other rivets the attention of those who are admitted to witness the scene. In Theresia's case the bleeding of the eyes was followed in a few weeks' time by the opening of a wound in the side from which blood trickled, and on Good Friday there was an esctasy in which she became deadly pale and seemed about three in the afternoon to be on the point of expiring. She also experienced intense pain in the hands and feet, but at first there was hardly any perceptible wound and no effusion of blood from that source. On the anniversary of Teresita's canonization (17 May, 1926), and on that of her death 30 (September), she was again conscious of the mysterious light and encouraging voice,

but the climax of these mystic sufferings was only reached on Friday, November 19, of the same year. She had been very ill for some days before with an acute attack of bronchitis. Her case seemed so desperate that the last sacraments were administered. None the less the ordinary phenomena of ecstasy and bleeding of the stigmata occurred as on other Fridays, and on this occasion blood flowed from punctures in the head corresponding, as we may suppose, to the crown of thorns. The agony was more protracted than usual, and her family believed that the end was near at hand. But even as those standing round her were convinced that they heard the death rattle and that her soul was about to take its departure, she suddenly raised herself from her pillow with a radiant look on her face, and they learnt from her later on that her patroness had again made her presence perceptible, had told her that she was not yet to die, but that she was to suffer further and to aid God's priests in their work for the salvation of souls.

The visions which Theresia experiences every Friday and which are attended by the hæmorrhages just spoken of present certain peculiarities, but they are not exceptionally dramatic. Very many stigmaticas witness in ecstasy the successive scenes of the Passion, and some in a measure enact them. Elizabeth of Herkenrode, about the year 1275, is the earliest recorded example and one of the most remarkable. She seemed to play the part of the executioners who dragged our Lord to Calvary, as well as to impersonate our Saviour Himself. She would catch hold of her garments and tear them violently from side to side, clench her fist to strike herself furious blows, and while her feet remained planted and motionless she would pull herself fiercely by the hair until her head struck the ground. Further, she would not only beat her head over and over again against the floor, but while lying in trance upon her back she would rain blows upon her breast with

extraordinary force and violence.[1] It is recorded of the same Elizabeth by Abbot Philip of Clairvaux, who was an eye-witness of these scenes, that blood streamed from her eyes, as is now the case at Konnersreuth, and also that it spurted from under her finger-nails. Can all this, one is inclined to ask, have been a divine manifestation intended to draw men nearer to God? Abbot Philip, however, undoubtedly interpreted it in this sense, and he tells us how he and a number of other abbots and monks made a close inspection of the bleeding wounds in her hands, feet and side.[2]

With Theresia, who lies all the time in her bed, the scene is much more peaceful. Still many find it harrowing enough, and we are told by F. Ritter von Lama of a Swiss bishop who was so overcome that he had to leave the room, saying, "*Es reicht mir*" (it is too much for me).[3] The visions usually begin late on the Thursday night and last until some time after midday on the Friday. They are not continuous, but broken up by intervals during which the sufferer comes in some measure to herself and is apparently much more conscious of the physical pain of her wounds than when, leaning forward in a position which it seems almost impossible for her to maintain for many minutes, she gazes with outstretched hands, but eyes half-closed, at the scene which unfolds itself before her. The last vision is generally much more protracted than any of those which precede, and it ends in a sort of agony in which Theresia falls back upon her pillows apparently lifeless, the pallor of her face contrasting vividly with the two streams of blood which by this time have glued together her eyelids and seem to have worn a furrow on each cheek. When she regains consciousness and in the intervals of her visions, she is able to return some sort

[1] An exactly similar conduct, as regards the shower of blows, is recorded in the case of Domenica Lazzari (*c*, 1840), one of the Tyrolese stigmaticas.

[2] The account has been printed by the Bollandists in their Catalogue of the Hagiographical MSS. of Brussels, Vol. I., pp. 362-378.

[3] *Wochenschrift für Kultur*, etc., Vienna, Oct. 20, 1928.

of answer to the questions addressed to her by her confessor or her parents, but her mental condition is very curious. It resembles that of a child in the earliest stages of its intellectual development. If she is asked how many holy women she saw beneath the cross, she is apparently unable to count them, and state the total, but she says " one and one and one and one." She cannot form the abstract idea which is conveyed in the word " Pope," or at any rate she cannot give a name to it. She speaks of " him who comes after the one who cut off the ear " ; and in trying to indicate Pius X, it seems that she talked of " the highest Herr Pfarrer (parish priest) who was before the one who died last." Père Lucien Roure seems to me to show a sound instinct when he hints that the unconscious influence of Pfarrer Naber plays a considerable part in this strange mental attitude. For example, some visitors were trying to question her about the likelihood of the Pope pressing forward the beatification of Anne Catherine Emmerich. Theresia could not understand the word Pope. Thereupon we are told that her confessor said to her—*duzend*, of course, but the *thou* sounds too unnatural to be retained in English :—

" Resi " [this is the pet name for Theresia], " you know me, don't you ? I am the Pfarrer."—" Yes."—" And above me there is a higher Pfarrer, the Bishop."—"Yes."—" And above him there is one who is higher still, the Pope."—" Yes."—" And now, Resi, what do you think that this Pfarrer, who is highest of all, is going to say about that girl ? "—" He will say something, but not much. The next one, not this one, the next after him, will say a great deal."[1]

I may confess that I get the impression, not so much from this trivial incident as from other details and from examples in past history, that it would be better if the influence of the one confessor were not so dominant or quite so exclusive. There arises in such cases a relationship which is curiously like the relationship of the hypno-

[1] Père L. Roure in *Etudes*, 5 Jan., 1929, p. 91.

tizer to the hypnotized subject. I am not, of course, making the faintest suggestion of any lack of sincerity or spirituality on either side. The danger comes simply from the astounding influence which suggestion, not necessarily expressed in words, but purely mental and for the most part unconscious, is apt to exercise in such intercourse. If anyone doubts it, let him read Professor Pierre Janet's volume, *De l'Angoisse à l'Extase* (1926), in which he gives an account of his subject "Madeleine." It is impossible to discuss here the problems which that case raises. Further, I fully agree that the stigmata which Madeleine exhibited were of quite a different order and altogether much less well attested than those of Theresia, or Louise Lateau, or Anne Catherine Emmerich. But it is an astonishing thing to find this educated and in some respects talented woman, Madeleine, whose high spiritual aims, modesty, courage and self-abnegation were to the end of her days unimpeachable, so completely manifesting the inmost secrets of her religious aspirations to an agnostic professor. She called him "mon père" in her letters, and treated him in fact as the guide sent her by God whose counsels it was her highest duty to follow.

Some difference of opinion seems to have been felt as to the advisability of admitting the public to witness the spectacle of Theresia in her ecstasies. It is true that on the Friday when the stigmata bleed she is hardly, if at all, conscious of the presence of strangers; it is also true that so far as she is aware of being a centre of attraction, the whole idea of this publicity is repugnant to her, and it is only from obedience and a sense of duty that she allows herself to be visited and questioned. The report of the episcopal commission appointed to investigate the manifestations has not yet been published, and in 1927 Cardinal von Faulhaber, the Archbishop of Munich, at the meeting of the Bavarian bishops, seems to have expressed the view that until some definite decision had

been arrived at it would be better that the clergy should not make themselves conspicuous in visiting Konnersreuth. Since then, however, he himself has spent the night there and has assisted at the whole drama of the ecstasies. As the result of this personal experience it is understood that he, like the famous Padre Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., who came to Konnersreuth as the deputy of the Holy Father, has been deeply impressed by what he witnessed, and has withdrawn all opposition.[1] To obviate the inconvenience which would be caused to Herr Neumann, his wife and their large family by a constant stream of visitors, Theresia now always spends the Thursday night and the Friday in a room at the presbytery. This was no doubt a measure of necessity, but it has had the effect of giving to Pfarrer Naber, even more than before, the position of a master of ceremonies. For the benefit of the stream of pilgrims who cross the little hall and are permitted to look for a few moments through the open door of Theresia's room before they pass out of the house by another entrance, he announces the scene of the Passion she is contemplating at the moment. For example : " We are now in the Garden of Olives . . . Theresia sees the soldiers . . . They are bringing Him the cross . . . The procession has reached the slope of Calvary." There is something in this which jars upon delicate sensibilities. Many people feel that the intimacies of God's special favour towards a soul very dear to Him ought not to be made a kind of show for eyes which though mainly reverent are sometimes profane. Still it is not easy to say how the difficulty can be met.

We are told that Theresia in ecstasy is well acquainted with the topography of ancient Jerusalem, and that in fact she knows her way about that city as if it were her own native village. It is also stated that she repeats, without understanding them, words and phrases in

[1] See the articles of Friedrich Ritter von Lama in the *Wochenschrift für Kultur, Politik und Volkswissenschaft*, Wien, 13 and 20 Oct., 1928.

Aramaic which she hears spoken by the Apostles or the crowd, and that a certain Professor Wutz is prepared to attest that some of these utterances are not only quite intelligible to him, but that they bear witness to the Galilean accent of the speaker. Mindful of the discussions which have raged over the similar claims made in the case of Anne Catherine Emmerich, I hope I may be allowed to remain incredulous until more exact details are furnished. It is easier to believe that Theresia possesses a rather alarming gift of reading the secret thoughts, the state of conscience, and the previous history of those who are present at her ecstasies. For this many parallels might be quoted from the records of stigmatized mystics in the past.

What most readers will regard as the most inexplicable phenomenon in the case is Theresia's complete abstention from food or drink. The last morsel of solid food she has eaten was taken on Maundy Thursday, 1922. Between that time and December, 1926, a certain very small amount of liquid nourishment was consumed, but for the last two years nothing has passed her lips save the particle received in Holy Communion. There seems absolutely no reason to doubt the fact of this *inedia*. In the summer of 1927 a very strict investigation was maintained for a fortnight, four nursing sisters being appointed to watch the case and charged under medical supervision to register every detail that could help towards the elucidation of the problem. The experiment was strictly carried out according to programme, and not the slightest suspicious circumstance was detected. In spite of the continued abstinence, Theresia's normal weight of 110 lbs. is maintained. She generally loses from three to eight pounds during the harrowing experiences of the Thursday and Friday, but before the middle of the next week the loss has been made good, no one knows how. Neither is she confined to bed. She goes across to the church, writes letters, receives visitors, and busies herself

with light tasks about the house. It is noteworthy that for the early years of her period of complete *asitia* Louise Lateau was similarly and even more actively employed.

Will the issue of the pious enthusiasm which draws such vast crowds to contemplate the spectacle of Konnersreuth tend in the long run to the glory of God ? Anyone who may have perused the 900 pages of Canon A. Thiéry's book, *Louise Lateau de Bois-d'Haine* might well be excused for entertaining misgivings on the point. The bitter controversies engendered and continuing for years among such good Christians as the Curé Niels (the parish-priest who took possession of Louise in much the same way as Pfarrer Naber now identifies himself with the manifestations of Theresia Neumann), Canon Thiéry, the Redemptorist Fathers Huchant and Lejeune, as well as a large section of the Belgian clergy, make a painful impression on those who read them. When J. J. von Görres wrote the work by which he is best remembered, *Die christliche Mystik*, he made a distinction between what he called natural, divine and diabolic mysticism. If it is permissible to offer a criticism upon the attitude of certain theologians towards such subjects, I should be tempted to suggest that not a few have erred by prematurely classifying all unexplainable phenomena as either divine or diabolic. The theological traditions which they follow were formed before any exact experimental knowledge was available upon such matters as hypnotism, neurology, suggestion, telepathy, etc. These are subjects which even now are very imperfectly understood, but what we do know ought at least to impress upon us the need of caution in pronouncing any final judgment upon the range of what may conveniently be called natural mysticism. Père Huchant, discerning, as he thought, a want of obedience and humility in Louise

[1] This is quite a different work from Canon Thiéry's *Nouvelle Biographie de Louise Lateau*. It is mainly an acrimonious indictment of Père Huchant and of those who sided with him in his unfavourable opinion of Louise.

Lateau, arrived at the conclusion that her *inedia*, her stigmata and her "hierognosis"[1] were the work of the devil, that she ought to be exorcised, and that no visitors should be allowed to have access to her. To those who had been in daily contact with her life of high contemplation, of humble toil, of devotion to the sick and suffering, such a decision seemed an outrage. This was the beginning of all the bitter controversy. But Louise Lateau's case was but one of a hundred similar examples of which the last six centuries have left us imperfect records. Even so Protestant a country as England has not been entirely destitute of phenomena of the same kind; witness the case of Teresa Higginson, whose Life has lately been written by Father O'Sullivan, O.S.B., and again by Miss Cecile Kerr. I am inclined, therefore, to conclude that we shall do wisely to suspend our judgment with regard to all such phenomena as those of Theresia Neumann. They may quite probably be divine; it is hardly conceivable that they can be diabolic; but in our present state of knowledge it would be rash to pronounce that a natural explanation must certainly be excluded.

HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] It was averred that when in ecstasy she at once reacted to the influence of any sacred object presented to her; for example, the hands of a priest, relics, or still more a consecrated Host, and that if a priest, standing even behind her back in a position in which she could not possibly see him, gave her his blessing, her face was at once irradiated.

NOTES ON LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN PARIS

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

A CURIOUS result of the Great War is the enthusiasm shown in London and Paris for the languages and histories of small or distant countries which were not regarded as of much account in either of those Capitals fifteen years ago. At first sight this result seems curious, for great nations tend toward linguistic centralisation, and few people, outside asylums for mild mental cases, ever took seriously the assertions of Mr. Lloyd George and other statesmen of the Entente that their sole object in fighting Germany was to free small peoples from the yoke of oppressors, or the sudden affection shown for the Poles and the Bohemians by the Grand Duke Nicholas, or the surprising sympathy displayed for the Lithuanians, the Irish, the Hindoos and the Moroccans by the German Kaiser.

In any case a number of small nations obtained their independence as a result of the war, and for the same reason a number of large nations which had hitherto been dominated and weak became comparatively important—Turkey, for example, and China—while even in Egypt and India the position changed to the disadvantage of the dominant power and the advantage of the native. That I should attribute all this to the war may seem surprising; and perhaps, to be exact, I should attribute it to the exhaustion of the Great Powers as a result of the war. But, however that may be, small nations are more important now than they were before 1914, and their languages and histories are studied with more respect in the great Capitals of Europe. They are even studied in provincial cities like Lyons, Lille, Toulouse, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Leipzig, and Stuttgart; but naturally London and Paris take the lead.

London starts with a certain advantage, for it is very cosmopolitan. Within a stone's throw of Piccadilly Circus there are Chinese, Turkish, Russian, and Indian restaurants, not to speak of French, Italian, German, Magjar, Japanese and Czech restaurants; and within a five-mile radius there are clubs where strange curries are on the menu and strange languages spoken. Some of these clubs are very exclusive, consisting mostly of retired British officials from over-sea possessions, and the bound volumes of the "transactions" in their libraries contain surprising facts and little-known histories; but into those exclusive clubs no mere student can ever hope to enter. In the East End there are other clubs which no student ought to enter. The point is that, without leaving London, one can acquire proficiency in almost any language by personal intercourse with native speakers. One can even have a university course in a great many languages; and this is as it ought to be, for though the University of London is young, it is nevertheless the only University in the greatest city of the British Commonwealth. In this University there are now chairs for Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Dutch, Italian, Modern Greek, Czech, Serbian, Polish and Rumanian. There is no chair for Irish because, to be quite frank, our native language stands in a different position to those I have just mentioned. Without Portuguese, for example, one is absolutely lost in Goyez or Amazonas; whereas a knowledge of English will carry the traveller through even the remotest parts of Connaught.

A whole volume could be written on the fight that was made in the University of London for the Slavonic languages alone, especially the minor Slavonic languages. Sir Bernard Pares fought stoutly for Russian, and powerful personalities in England backed him up because, in 1913, an Anglo-Russian alliance against Germany was foreseen. Mr. R. W. Seton Watson fought even harder for Czech, but met at first with less sympathy in English

governmental circles owing to the fact that, even after the beginning of the war, the British Government was by no means in favour of breaking up Austria. In fact, British royalty was dead against any such policy, as we can see from Queen Victoria's Letters. Queen Victoria was a logical old lady, and once, when there was talk of encouraging Czech longings for independence, she said: "All this applies equally well to Ireland." Fifty or a hundred years hence, when the British archives are thrown open and the letters of King George V published, we shall perhaps discover that, towards the end of the Great War, the British Court and the British Government coupled Ireland and Bohemia together in exactly the same way. Even now we know that when, in 1917, Mr. Seton Watson became rather annoying on the subject of Bohemia (particularly because he speaks Czech and knows more about the modern history of Bohemia than the whole Foreign Office put together), the Foreign Office induced the War Office to draft him for the army as a private soldier so as to muzzle him till the end of the war. Luckier, however, than many people who were treated in the same way, Mr. Seton Watson very soon obtained his discharge, thanks to the representations of Mr. Lloyd George himself, and was able to carry on his campaign for the emancipation of the Czechs and the other Slavonic races under the control of Austria. As the military and economic situation of the Entente grew more and more desperate, the rulers of Britain became more and more reconciled to the Watsonian programme, and finally the decomposition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into its component parts became a slogan which every free and independent Briton was bound to accept if he wanted to keep out of jail.

In this article, however, I mean to speak only of France; and I can speak with a certain authority as I am myself at the present moment a student of the Sorbonne and of several other colleges of the University

of Paris, where I am attending lectures in an Eastern language which may be useful to me in the near future and which I do not want to forget. I have called this article "Notes," as it is made up of notes jotted down more or less at random in class; and if some of those notes are found useful or suggestive by the readers of STUDIES, I hope that such readers will pardon my absence of method.

The interest now taken by France in foreign languages is due partly to the international situation and partly to the internal situation. France has acquired in Alsace-Lorraine a large German-speaking population which apparently does not want to speak French, and the influx of Poles, Czechs, Russians, Italians and other foreigners is amazingly large. Those foreigners, I hasten to add, are not tourists: they are working men whose presence is necessary on account of the prosperity of this country (I am writing this article in Paris) as well as on account of its dwindling population. At the present moment every sixth person in Paris is a foreigner. Enormous numbers are becoming naturalised, but meanwhile there is, in districts where French only was heard, a babel of foreign tongues which makes Gallic conservatives shake their heads dolorously.

At the same time France pays particular attention to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugo-Slavia on account of their being possible allies of hers against Germany; and those three nations cannot be blamed for taking advantage of this sympathetic disposition to advertise themselves in France. Here and in London Polish University Professors lecture frequently on Polish art, civilisation, and literature. The Polish language is taught in the School of Living Oriental Languages (Paris), while in the Rue Michelet, the Governments of Prague and Belgrade have subsidised the Slav Institute, where there is a good Slav library and where a periodical devoted to Slav studies appears quarterly.

Several European countries are in the habit of producing periodically scholars or writers filled with enthusiasm for some particular foreign people. Ancient Ireland was certainly one of those countries, and in quite recent times Mr. J. D. Bourchier, a Tipperary man, identified himself so much with Bulgaria that his head appears to-day on a series of Bulgarian postage stamps. Germany is another such country : she has produced scholars who carried almost to the point of fanaticism their zeal for Celtic and Sanscrit studies. In England, Sir Bernard Pares has specialised in Russian, Miss Monica Gardiner in Polish, Professor Browne of Cambridge in Persian, and Mr. Seton Watson in Czech. France has the reputation of having produced no such enthusiasts ; but this is a mistake, for she has given birth to many in the past and can point to many now. Chézy, Burnouf and de Bergaigne were great Indian scholars, though their names are not so well known in Ireland as that of Max Müller ; Professor Dennis was a great authority on the Slav languages ; and to-day Professor Eisenmann and Professor Paul Boyer are distinguished Russian scholars, while other Frenchmen study other languages with an industry as great as that which one would find in Germany. The German scholar is wonderful of course, but it is a question if he does not sometimes fail to see the wood on account of the trees. That reproach can be made against very few French scholars. I hope that when Irish missionary work in China has made more progress, some Irish sinologues will be able to complete their studies at the University of Paris.

I shall now reproduce my notes of what is being done in that University with regard to Chinese and Indian studies. A good deal of useful and even brilliant work is being done, for in Indo-China France finds herself placed in an advantageous position to study the ancient civilisation of both India and China, as well as that of Indo-China itself. An " Institute of Higher Chinese

Studies" has been created; and, under its direction, lectures on Chinese subjects are given in the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, the School of Living Oriental Languages, and other colleges of the University.

At the School of Living Oriental Languages a course of lectures on Chinese civilisation is being given by M. Grunet, whose first subject was "The Imperial Majesty," under which title he studied "the mystic element of the idea of sovereignty in China" and "the politico-mystic poetry in the beginning of the Chinese Empire." The same professor is also teaching exercises of translation for the certificate of Chinese civilisation.

Professor Pelliot is lecturing on "the Chinese historians" and "the motives of Chinese art," while M. Laloy deals with Chinese æsthetics and "the sentiment of style in Chinese works."

M. Dubarbier is lecturing on "the political and diplomatic history" of contemporary China, and making a special study of the treaties recently concluded, while M. Mestre is lecturing on the economic history of modern and contemporary China, and on "the economic role of the Government of China."

The subject of "Chinese Science" has been confided to a professor of the national university of Peiping, while M. Escarra is lecturing on "Chinese Law." The course will be concluded by three series of conferences. M. Bacot will give five conferences on Tibetan civilisation; M. André Duboscq will give five conferences on "China and the Problems of the Pacific"; and Doctor Léger will give five conferences on "Prophylaxy and the treatment of the principal maladies endemic in China."

The above lectures are being given or will be given at the School of Living Oriental Languages or the School of Higher Studies or the Sorbonne. At the College of France M. Maspero is lecturing on the Chinese language and on Chinese literature, and M. Pelliot on the languages, history, and archaeology of Central Asia. At "the

Practical School of Higher Studies" religious sciences will be dealt with by M. Grunet, who will speak on (1) the practice of long life, and (2) the study of Taoist texts. At the School of the Louvre Professor Salles will deal with the history of the arts in Asia, taking first bronzes and metals. At the School of Living Oriental Languages Professor Vissière is teaching the Chinese language, and M. Tcheng is his *répétiteur*—in other words is taking classes for repetitions and practice in the language.

It will be noticed that not many Chinese teachers are employed, despite the large number of Chinese professors and students who are now in Paris. This is because the French hold that the principal teacher of a foreign language should be a Frenchman who knows that language, inasmuch as he understands the peculiar difficulties his countrymen encounter in their attempts to learn it. The same principle is held in England, where Professor Browne is the principal teacher of Persian at Cambridge, and where, at the University of London, Sir Bernard Pares is the head of the Slavonic section, Professor Edgar Prestage teacher of Portuguese, Professor Gardiner teacher of medieval Italian, and Mr. R. W. Seton Watson professor of Central European History.

M. Poincaré's determination to permit French missionaries to establish novitiates and training colleges in France, a determination which wrecked his Cabinet a month ago and which may wreck his present Cabinet when the subject comes up again for discussion in the Chamber, is partly due to his discovery that French prestige abroad and the vogue of the French language in South America, the Near East, and other parts of the world are bound up closely with the humble French missionary. M. Briand has explained, indeed, at a private meeting of the Cabinet that, owing to the operation of the anti-clerical laws in France, Germans, Italians, Irishmen, Dutchmen, and other foreigners are getting

control of many great missionary Orders of the Catholic Church. When I lived in Japan twenty odd years ago, all the Catholic missionaries there were Frenchmen belonging to the Society of the Foreign Missions, but now there are German Jesuits in Tokyo, and other non-French communities of Catholic priests in other parts of the country. In China, twenty years ago, the French missionaries had not got quite the same monopoly, but there they have lost ground even more than in Japan.

To deal with the world aspect of this question would require a long article, so that I shall confine myself to China. The French of to-day have suddenly discovered that the science of sinology was inaugurated by French missionaries. In 1728 Father Prémare wrote his Chinese grammar *Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ*, and he was followed in the same century by Father du Halde, Father Gaubil, Father Amiot, and Father de Mailla. At Hien-hien near Ho-kien-fou and at Zikawei near Shanghai very important publications saw the light under the auspices of French Jesuits, the most important being those which we owe to Father Couvreur, Father Wieger, Father Havret, Father Gaillard, and Chinese Jesuits such as Father Hoang and Father Zi. Then English scholars took the lead in Chinese studies, and France may find it difficult to catch up with them. There are still, of course, French Jesuits at Zikawei; but (officially) there are none in France, and the extreme Left in the French Chamber exhibit such peculiar animosity to the establishment of any Jesuit house in France—even though it be exclusively for Chinese studies or for the supply of missionaries to China—that M. Poincaré may be compelled to omit the Jesuit from his Relief Bill. If he does so, French studies in China and Chinese studies in France will both suffer.

There are, however, a number of distinguished French sinologues who are laymen. The chief of them at present is M. Chavannes, whose valuable sinological studies I need not mention; but there are also M. Vissière, M.

Cordier, M. Paul Pelliot, M. Henri Maspero, and M. Leonard Aurousseau.* There is a chair of Chinese in the University of Lyons, and among the publications which deal almost exclusively with China are the "Bulletin of the French School of the Far East" published at Hanoi, the *T'oung pao*, the *Journal Asiatique*, *Ars Asiatica*, and others.

By far the greatest sinologues, however, are the priests. In the mother house of the Society of Foreign Missions in the Rue du Bac, there are half-a-dozen missionaries who speak Chinese, Japanese, Annamite, Siamese, and other Oriental languages as well as they speak French. Monseigneur de Guébriant, the superior of the Society, lived thirty years on the frontier of Tibet, and there are also in France at the present moment other ecclesiastics who can speak the most outlandish languages and who have had the most extraordinary experiences. They never refer to those experiences, however, and this modesty is in striking contrast with that craze for publicity which is one of the characteristics of the age. I could mention half-a-dozen "explorers," male and female, whose names are well known to the newspaper-reading public, but who are nevertheless the greatest humbugs it is possible to conceive. Their mendacity on the subject of their "adventures" is brazen and shameless. They pose as authorities on countries which they have traversed in Pullman cars or aboard comfortable river steamers, and claim to speak languages of which they do not know a hundred words; and—most surprising of all, their claims are admitted by newspapers, by Governments, by Universities which, on the other hand, are completely ignorant of the existence of French Catholic missionaries who are real explorers and real authorities on little-known languages.

* On the day this was written, M. Aurousseau committed suicide "for sentimental reasons," if we are to believe the newspapers. He was a great Chinese scholar, and accompanied General Janin to Omsk when Admiral Kolchak ruled there—that is, during the first ten months of the yerr 1919.

There is a French Jesuit in Africa who has spent all his life compiling a masterly grammar on a certain group of native languages, of which he knows some thirty or forty; but this great work is little known except to American Protestant missionaries, who have stolen from it shamelessly and without acknowledgment in the grammars which they themselves have compiled. But these American missionaries enjoy the advantage of having the public ear and of being frequently in Europe and America, whereas the poor Jesuit grammarian has been isolated in the heart of the Dark Continent for the last twenty years.

This instance recalls to my memory a score of others, but I must repress my desire to speak of them, for I am dealing in the present article with language-teaching in Paris and not with French missionaries in savage lands.

I have already noted that, owing to her possession of Indo-China, France finds herself advantageously situated for studying the ancient civilisation of both India and China and especially for studying Indian Buddhism, mention of which is only to be found in Chinese or Tibetan versions, as nearly all the Sanscrit Buddhist literature disappeared from India when Buddhism itself disappeared from that country. There is now in the University of Paris an Institute of Indian Civilisation. Professor Bloch teaches the Vedic language and literature and reads Vedic texts with his pupils, while Professor Renon teaches the elements of Sanscrit. In another college of the University Professor Bloch teaches the Sanscrit declension, and lectures on modern Indian philology, on the Hindu and Dravidian languages, and on the religious and mystical element in Indian art.

Professor Foucher deals with Indian archaeology; Professor Grousset with Indian art; Professor Stern with the musical theories of India; Professor Foucher with the philosophical and Brahmic texts (the Upanishads); and Professor Masson-Oursel with the political

theories of ancient India. Jainism is dealt with by a teacher called N.: either he does not want to give his name, or, as is more likely, the University authorities had not definitely selected the teacher when their curriculum was printed.

Buddhism is carefully studied in the University of Paris, probably because of the enormous Buddhist population of Indo-China. Professor Levi deals with "the principles of Vasubandhu," and also with "the literary procedure in the canonical works of Buddhism"; while Professor Foucher lectures on the Mahavastu, and Professor Przylaski on the formation of the Majjhima-Nikáya. Professor Vallée-Poussin is now explaining "some problems of Buddhism"; Professor Groslier, "the Cambodian theatre"; and another professor, "Buddhist Archaeology." Professor Ferrand is giving a series of lectures on the *Descriptio fratris Oderici de partibus Infidelium* as well as on Suleyman-al-Bahri's account of the Indian Ocean. Professor Cabaton is speaking on the geography, history, customs, and languages of the Malay States; Professor Benveniste on the Iranian languages of India and Central Asia; Professor Bacot on the elements of classical Tibetan; and Professor Getty on "Tibetan iconographic documents in the Indian dialects of Central Asia."

These courses have not only attracted French students with a taste for recondite studies and a preference for a career which can only be followed by a very few: they have also attracted several Asiatics. These Asiatic students swarm in the Latin Quarter of Paris, and give Paris a much more cosmopolitan appearance than London; for though there are many Asiatic students in England, the bulk of them is in Oxford and Cambridge. This influx of students from Asia to Paris will probably grow greater as time goes on, for Paris has much to recommend it, to wit (1) the comparative cheapness of the life and the smallness of the scholastic fees; (2) the fact that,

to reach it, one has not got to cross the English Channel; and (3) the affability of the Parisians and their lack of any prejudices on the score of colour. Point (3) is very important and could be enlarged on a great deal, but I shall only say that the dusky-complexioned student from Asia receives here preferential treatment: everybody tries to please him, and in the Luxembourg Gardens girl-students seem to throw themselves at his head, as the saying is. This has its bad side, but English coldness towards "coloured" students has also a bad side.

As might be expected, French scholarship is making a very careful and reverential study of Islam, of the Koran, and of Arabic. There is, indeed, something incongruous about this reverential care of a false and hostile religion whose triumph would have meant the ruin of our civilisation and the loss of all our liberties, especially when we bear in mind the neglect of Christianity by many French scholars and statesmen. Every possible facility and encouragement are given to Mohammedan soldiers to practise their religion—and not only to Mohammedan soldiers from Northern Africa, but to devil-dancers and fetish worshippers from Senegal and Madagascar. Thanks to large subsidies from the French Government, a magnificent new mosque has been built on the left bank of the Seine. In the Rue Michelet, near Montparnasse, a fine oriental institute in the Moorish style is almost completed; and close by, in the Rue Auguste-Comte, there is an excellent Colonial school, also in the Moorish style.

Meanwhile Mohammedan studies are being pursued with ardour and success in the University of Paris, where Professor Massignon is lecturing on "contemporary Mohammedan apologetics and its historical origins"; M. Lévi on "the colonial expansion of India at the beginning of the Christian era"; M. Hérold on "India in the French Literature of the Nineteenth Century"; M. Pelliot on "the Languages, History and Archaeology

of Central Asia"; M. Finot on "The History and Philology of Indo-China."

Indian studies are not, of course, a novelty at the University of Paris; for, between the two abdications of Napoleon, Chézy began his lectures on Sanscrit at the Collège de France. He was succeeded by Eugène Burnouf, a great philologist, by Abel Bergaigne, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Sonart, Barth, Paul Regnaud and many other "Indianists." The French conquest of Indo-China and the creation of the French School at Saigon in 1899 increased the desire of the Sorbonne for further light on ancient India; and at present Sylvain Lévi, Lacôte, Foucher, Jules Bloch, Garcin de Tassy, Foucaux, and Huber are continuing worthily in the traditions of Chézy and Burnouf. Besides these there are Gauthiot, Pelliot, Meillet, Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Langlois, Fauche, Victor Henry, Roussel, Baston and A. F. Hérold. There are also a number of periodicals devoted to both Indian and Chinese subjects.

Despite the large number of Celtic speakers in Bretagne, Celtic is not studied much in Paris, though there are scholars who pay attention to it, and though little pamphlets about Celtic studies appear from time to time. An attempt was made last month, by means of posters in Breton and French posted all over the Latin quarter, to bring all the Breton students in the French capital together into a special association. The organisers of this movement were probably actuated by a local patriotism such as that which made the Corsican students and the Polish Catholics and even the Polish Jews take similar steps recently, and probably they were also actuated by a very laudable religious motive, namely the desire to prevent young Breton students from losing their faith among French lads whose Catholicity is not so strong, but I do not know whether the attempt to form a Breton Students' Association has been successful or not.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

IRISH IN THE UNIVERSITIES

BY MYLES DILLON, M.A., PH.D.

TWO years ago, a member of the Gaeltacht Commission wrote in this review on the revival of the Irish language, and pointed out the danger of too great optimism in its regard and the absence of any sign of recovery in the Gaeltacht. His article can be re-read to-day with profit. The patient's condition is unchanged. Buoyant optimism and gloomy pessimism are the respective notes of the two fairly clearly marked sections of opinion. One hears on the one hand that the schools are saving Irish, and on the other that Irish is ruining the schools. There is apparently a good deal of Irish being taught, but it may be observed that quality must be considered as well as quantity, and the standard is certainly low. The leaving certificate is not a fair test to apply, for relatively few pupils attempt the examination. It would be interesting to hear the opinions of examiners for admission to higher education and the public services, who can fairly estimate the average level of pupils leaving the secondary schools. As for the Gaeltacht, which is much the most important element in the situation, the tide of emigration is still carrying away as many as it may of the best Irish speakers in the country.

In a matter of the kind it is fair to look to the learned bodies for help. If Irish is really a cultural asset, and if the attempt to preserve and revive it is anything more than a passing fever, one would think that the universities would interest themselves, and even give some sort of lead to the country. And so it is worth considering what the universities can properly do. In point of prestige and opportunity they are in a favoured position.

In the hierarchy of culture they stand first; and the great majority of educated men, and nearly all the teaching profession, pass through their schools. They may reasonably be challenged to show in what measure they are making themselves effective, and indeed the challenge is often spoken.

Apart from the professional schools, the work proper to a university is the study and enjoyment of human culture, and the search for fresh knowledge. It will be admitted that its atmosphere should be one of science, not of propaganda. And the question then arises for the universities as to what scope they find within the limits of Modern Irish. The claims of Early Irish, or Celtic studies generally, need not be considered, as they have nothing to say to the language revival; and, whatever may happen to the spoken language, there is no likelihood that Irish literature will ever cease to interest scholars and literary men. The language of *Lebor na hUidre* will be read and studied when both Irish and English are dead languages like itself. Our business is with the literature extant in Modern Irish, that is to say, in an idiom which is approximately that of nearly 300,000 native speakers at the present moment, and with the spoken language.

For practical purposes the Modern Irish period may be dated as from the sixteenth century. Manus O'Donnell's *Betha Coluimb Chille*, written in 1532, is probably the earliest text which would find favour on a programme of studies. The modern folk-tale gives us the inferior limit. And within these boundaries, and touching them both, the school of Modern Irish in a university has to work.

There is no need here for a bibliography of modern Irish literature: the work has been admirably done elsewhere. My purpose is to consider in what way the universities can help the revival of Irish. The material available for the period suggested includes prose and verse:

history, religion, romantic tales, lyric poems, and the wealth of poetry which the Munstermen have left us, as well as the living folk-lore. And this classification does not provide for pieces like Merriman's famous "Midnight Court," or the prose satire *Pairlement Chloinne Tomáis*, a great part of which remains unpublished, nor for the delightful nineteenth century diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan, publication of which was also begun in the too short lived *Gadelica*.

Without venturing into any speculation as to the relative cultural value of this modern Irish literature as compared with other literatures, ancient or modern, it is certain that the material is considerable, and that its importance to Irishmen as history and culture is very great. And this is what the universities have to exploit. Reading and discussion of such texts as the Life of Colm Cille mentioned above, so interesting in its subject, so agreeable in its language, and with a special appeal in the person of its author, or "The Flight of the Earls" by O Cianáin, or O'Clery's "Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell," must excite the historical sense of any Irish student worth exciting. Keating's prose is of the best we have. His regular dignified language should be a model to students. Still his *Forus Feasa* has not yet been critically studied, neither as to its sources nor as to its language; and the version extant in Middle Irish dress has never even been printed. Neither is there any study of the Annals of the Four Masters—not even a modern edition, though these are, after all, the chief Irish documents of modern Irish history; so that here there is matter for important research as well as for mere teaching.

The various religious works catalogued in Best's "Bibliography of Irish Philology and Literature" might be explored for information about the history of religious thought and of the Church during penal times (most of the early books were printed in Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Rome, anywhere but in Ireland), and for the

history of the language itself. One work in particular has won the admiration of the few who know it, *Scathan Shacramuinte na hAithridhe* by Aodh Mhac Aingil (Louvain, 1618); but there are only three complete copies of the book known in Dublin (one in the National Library), and hardly anyone has seen it. There are, of course, plenty of manuscripts of it. Only an editor is wanted. Another treatise, *Desiderius*, translated into Irish by Florence Conry, also a Franciscan and Archbishop of Tuam, which was published at Louvain in 1616, is said to excel even Keating. It is, perhaps, rarer than Mac Aingil's book. One copy is reported at Maynooth and another at Trinity College. A new edition, ready for the press, is said to be in the hands of one of our most trustworthy scholars, but, for lack of opportunity or of encouragement, it has not yet been published.

As regards the Munster poetry, Corkery in his excellent "Hidden Ireland" has shown how much inspiration can be drawn from it, and O'Rahilly's *Dánta Grádha*, with the admirable introduction by Flower, establishes the claim of another genre of Irish verse. Hyde's collections of songs and stories, and his own poems, are the expression of the charm of the living Gaeltacht.

I have allowed myself this rather detailed repetition of information familiar to many readers, because it seems to give an answer to the question: What can the universities do to help the language? With this material at their disposal they can make of Irish an exact discipline, and a powerful literary and historical inspiration. They can train teachers in the classical language and in the spoken dialects, and show the relationship between them, and the cultural value of both. They can organise an intellectual cultivation of the Irish language worthy of themselves and of the present moment in Irish history.

But before this can be attempted, the books must be available for class work. We have not yet a single adequate work on the grammar and syntax of any

dialect of Modern Irish. Professor Tierney pointed this out in his article in STUDIES, March, 1927. Since then nothing has happened. But it is further a fact that hardly a single one of the earlier texts mentioned above are available for general study. O Cianáin's work, which can be had for five shillings, is an exception. The others are long out of print, or only to be had in expensive editions, or in fragmentary form in different numbers of various journals. Of the romantic tales published in cheap editions by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, the stories of the Children of Lir and of the Children of Tuireann, and the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gráinne are no longer obtainable, and the other great love-story, the Fate of the Children of Uisneach, is rapidly going out of print.[1]

And this could easily be set right. If an agreement were made with publishers by the Education Office and the universities, so that sales were assured, half a dozen classics of Modern Irish could be on the bookstalls in a year. There are plenty of workers qualified to edit these texts, and, if volunteers did not immediately respond, they might be invited to prepare editions on commission. But it were better even to print off emergency copies of the old editions than leave us without books.

One other question presents itself. Any one who has taught Irish is aware of the need for agreement on the question of spelling. At present no law runs, and every writer feels free to introduce reforms. Obviously the teacher's work is more difficult as a result. He may correct a spelling he regards as wrong, only to find it has been taken from a text actually being read by the class. This has happened to me. But even worse is the effect on the learner. As no rules of spelling are absolute, he abandons himself to anarchy, and Irish may become a training in carelessness.

This question of spelling and that of Roman *versus*

[1] 'Sceilg' has re-edited the "Three Sorrows" for the Society in one volume (Gill. 1927. 1/-).

Gaelic type have been in dispute for twenty years. The latter may have been settled for us by the recent announcement by the public authority that the Roman alphabet will be required for the civil service. At any rate, it will settle itself in time, and, meanwhile, it is consoling to reflect that German is getting along very well although it has the same problem to solve. It is much more urgent that the spelling should be fixed.

It has often been suggested that the matter should be referred to an Academy formed for the purpose ; but one doubts whether such a body would reach any agreement at present. And yet some such agreement would be a real service to the language. It does seem to be within the sphere of the university schools of Irish to take some action, if possible in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, which, through its inspectors and system of public examinations, is a powerful influence in a matter of the kind. This could be done quietly and privately by those best qualified to do it, without any of the letter-writing and wrangling which the public institution of an Academy would provoke ; and their recommendations might be printed and circulated to schools and colleges with official approval, preferably not as a regulation, but as a suggestion, to help the teachers in their work.

Dr. Bergin showed in a paper on Irish Spelling, published nearly twenty years ago, that some spellings now condemned for their unfaithfulness to tradition were commonly used by scribes in the seventeenth century, and, particularly, that in Stapleton's catechism, published at Brussels in 1639, dead letters were regularly dropped, so that we find *lú*, *slánú*, *suí*, *fáil* in print (and in Roman type !) nearly three hundred years ago. The formula that these dead consonants be thrown overboard would be accepted by the vast majority. In fact the final *-ú* for *-ughadh* is already general, and spellings such as *bliain*, *fáil*, regularly used by Canon O'Leary, have everything to recommend them. Both conservatives and radicals will have to make concessions in the common

cause, but a certain amount of reform should be acceptable to all, and freedom could be left for spellings proper to each dialect. Let there be two or three spellings if need be, but let all of them have authority behind them to the exclusion of any other. It has been pointed out, for example, that *beiriú* is handier than *beirbhiughadh*, and few will deny it. The form used in the north is *bruith*, so that this is a case where Munster scholars might be allowed to settle the spelling for themselves. But forms like *cônai* and *cûnav* and *eyreacht* are distressing, when you know *comhnuidhe* and *congnamh* and *oidhreacht* so well. Still, people who prefer the prosperity of the language to the triumph of their own prejudices will go a long way to secure agreement. We may hope that those who are responsible for higher education will soon move, and a compromise may be found. It need not bind for ever. In ten or twenty years sensible modifications may impose themselves. But it will make the difference between order and hopeless confusion.

And this is all the universities should undertake, as it seems to me. Propaganda has no place in their syllabus of work. To help on the practice of the spoken language the old enthusiasm must be revived, and it is the spirit of the crusader, not that of the scholar, which can achieve this. Fortunately, however, even the scholar has a heart as well as a head. In the universities there must be discussion of texts and of grammar, and of literature and its history, but the spirit of scholarship is not opposed to that of the active worker for a cause, provided they do not interfere with each other. If a small band of men, masters of the language, were to join together to form a centre of activity, and if they were ready to spend themselves teaching Irish to voluntary classes and re-creating the enthusiasm which seems to have somewhat failed, I believe that a ferment might set up amongst the university students of Dublin and others of their kind, such as prescribed courses and ordinary lectures cannot produce.

Myles Dillon.

CHRONICLE

I.—The Centenary of Léon Harmel

Born February 17, 1829. *Died November* 25, 1915

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

All Catholics interested in social problems know something of the life of Léon Harmel, the devoted Catholic layman of France who organised the great workmen's pilgrimages to Rome in the days of Leo XIII., who controlled the model spinning-mills at Val-des-Bois, and who preached and practised what in his own day was a wholly new conception of patronal duty and responsibility. Those of us whose memories go back some thirty to forty years will recall how prominent a personality in French Catholic life was this plain-featured, broad-shouldered, elderly man, with an imperturbable dignity of manner that impressed one from the first. All over France his was a familiar figure on platforms, in workmen's clubs, in conferences and congresses of every complexion. He was an indefatigable propagandist, even, in spite of his age, right up to the outbreak of the War, and everywhere he preached his doctrine of industrial peace, of co-operation between employer and employed, and outlined his dream of capital and labour working hand in hand.

That he had many opponents goes without saying. His theories were misinterpreted, his motives traduced, even his integrity and loyalty as a Catholic questioned. The very success of his innovations in factory management was often made an excuse for doubting the purity of his motives, whereas any material failure in his business would have been hailed at once by those same critics as proof positive of the quixotism of his theories. But if his fellow-employers looked askance at him, he was the idol of the Catholic workingmen of France. They loved and respected him and they trusted him whole-heartedly, and far beyond the confines of Val-des-Bois he was to them *le bon père*, one on whom they could implicitly rely.

To-day the controversies, once so bitter, connected with his name have died down, and Catholic France is celebrating with due ceremony the centenary of his birth. In honour of the event, Père Guitton, S.J., the author of the two fat volumes of the official biography published last year, has brought out a little

book, "Léon Harmel et l'Initiative Ouvrière,"[1] giving the pith of Harmel's social and industrial teaching. For the point of interest to-day in Harmel's career is surely the extent to which he both foresaw and forestalled all the acute industrial evils from which Europe—and England especially—is suffering. This is precisely what Père Guitton's little book makes clear.

Many visitors from all parts of Europe and even from the United States were drawn to Val-des-Bois during the later decades of last century to see for themselves what this far-famed model factory could offer. A few miles outside Reims it stands in pleasant wooded surroundings by a winding stream, and factory, church, schools, convent and so forth are all grouped together, with the houses of the Harmel family and the cottages of the employees scattered round with all the attractive characteristics of a garden-village. It was the father of Léon, the first *bon père*, who judiciously selected this ideal spot in 1841 for his wool spinning mills. Here he, his wife and their eight children established themselves in a very humble way, Léon being then eleven years old; but steadily the business grew and prospered, and fifty years later it employed over 600 workers and was fitted with all the most modern machinery. Family circumstances placed Léon practically at the head of affairs when he was only twenty-five, and thus, from an early age, he was in a position to put into effect, with the encouragement of his father, his first tentative schemes for the evangelisation of his factory hands.

It was, however, not until after the death of his wife, amid the tragic experiences of 1870, that his true vocation as a leader of men revealed itself. For a time he was crushed by his grief and contemplated becoming a priest. But on the advice of confessors and of his friend Mgr. de Ségur, he turned back resolutely to his duties as an employer of labour, his character strengthened and his spiritual life deepened by the crisis he had passed through. From that time forward his whole life was dedicated to a lay apostolate which worked itself out on wholly original lines.

To appreciate Harmel's boldness of conception we have to remember that he began his labours at a time when the economic doctrines of the Manchester school still maintained their authority almost unquestioned over men's minds, and when no one—save perhaps Bishop Ketteler of Mainz—had seriously attempted to reconcile the prevailing conditions of competitive industrialism with Christian teaching. Sharing as he did to a great extent the

[1] Action Populaire, Editions Spes. 1929. 4 frs.

daily life of his factory workers, there grew up in his mind a clear-cut conception of what he was driving at. This was no less than the educating and training of the workers up to the point when he could definitely entrust them with a share in the management and responsibilities of the factory. Convinced that the aims of capital and labour, rightly understood, were strictly identical, he not only saw no reason to fear any violent clash between them —in point of fact strikes never occurred at Val-des-Bois—but he was perfectly ready to delegate a portion at least of his authority to his work-people, confident that it would not be misused. The preparatory work began in the saving-banks that he established for the children in his schools, and in the choral, athletic and other recreative societies which developed the social spirit and co-operative understanding of the young people, and it led up through skilfully graded organisations within the factory to the "workmen's council" which, at Val-des-Bois, met the employers month by month to discuss, on terms of equality, many of the conditions affecting the internal discipline and administration of the establishment. And it was at these meetings that *le bon père* was wont to put frankly before his men matters financial and other which employers, as a rule, keep jealously secret from them, so that they might be in a position to appraise the difficulties of the situation.

Such was the germ of those "mixed syndicates" which it was Harmel's dream to see functioning in every factory in France and which, grouped together, would have constituted a great "Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens." That his dream never took shape was the fault, in the main, not of the workers, who were keen to follow his lead, but of his fellow-employers, held back by every sort of timid and ignorant prejudice.

"Harmel saw clearly," writes Père Guitton (p. 18), "that the modern workingman, having acquired his rights of citizenship, would be less and less ready to tolerate a system of labour the conditions of which he had never been allowed even to discuss, and that it would be his ambition to act in future not as an irresponsible minor who submits, but as a conscious adult who accepts. If Catholics did not come forward in favour of these legitimate aspirations, Harmel foresaw sorrowfully that they would irremediably lose the respect and confidence of the working classes. And that was why he made such ardent appeals to all those who were in a position to exercise social influence."

No one with anything less than the sturdy strength that came

to him from his Flemish peasant ancestry, could have laboured as ceaselessly for well nigh half a century as Léon Harmel, lecturing, debating, organising, travelling, yet all the while closely directing his great factory. The imposing workmen's pilgrimages to Rome—one of his most brilliant and successful conceptions and one that gave very special pleasure to Leo XIII.—demanded an enormous amount of preparation in days when Travel Associations were almost non-existent. None the less all through his life Harmel retained the precious gift of never appearing hurried. On the occasion of the present writer's visit to Val-des-Bois, it was Harmel himself who awaited her at the little way-side station just outside the factory gates and devoted several hours to conducting her round the works. The whole place was beautifully clean, airy and hygienic, men and women working in quite separate workshops, and nothing was more attractive than the sight of the long rows of girl-workers at the winding-machines, neat, smooth-haired damsels in simple cotton frocks, with the blue ribbon and medal of the *enfant de Marie* as their only ornament. Every girl up to the age of seventeen, one learnt, was bound to spend one hour per day, taken from her working hours, at the *école ménagère*, and though the Saturday half-holiday was at that time an unknown institution in French industrial life, all the women workers were let off early on Saturday afternoon.

Yet from an English point of view perhaps the most surprising feature of all was to find the rambling family house of the Harmel's, that habitually harboured innumerable children and grandchildren, in immediate proximity to the factory. But indeed Harmel would as soon have thought of removing himself to the elegant seclusion of a country mansion commensurate with his wealth, as an affectionate mother would dream of establishing her nursery at a distance from herself. Moreover it was in this close daily intercourse with his workmen and their families that he learnt much that was invaluable to him in his apostolate.

As early as 1877, at a congress of social workers, Harmel had warned his hearers that, with or without their concurrence, labour syndicates were bound to come into existence, and that if they held aloof they would see in a few years all the factory workers enrolled in a vast network of godless syndicates, a prediction which has unhappily proved itself only too well-founded. He saw clearly that what might, with good will, be accomplished at an early stage would become unattainable later on.

How difficult it is to bring together powerful associations of men and employers which have been founded and developed in

a spirit of antagonism to one another, has been amply demonstrated in England during the last few months when what is known as the Mond-Turner Conference, initiated by Lord Melchett, has been groping about for some basis for a common understanding between the National Confederation of Employers' Organisations and the Federation of British Industries on the one side, and the Council of the Trades Union Congress on the other, with a view to establishing a National Industrial Council. Either some such understanding, ushering in a new policy of co-operation and mutual trust between Capital and Labour must be arrived at, or the present policy of antagonism will be pursued to the bitter end. And it is evident that however complicated and difficult the material problems of such an understanding may be, the most formidable obstacle by far that has to be surmounted is the deep-rooted suspicion with which all parties to the proposed understanding regard each other. Hence, in spite of some journalistic trumpet-blowing, the extremely small progress that has been made as yet.

To Harmel the fundamental cause of the existing deadlock would have been only too plain: God has been left outside the council chamber. However great his belief in the efficacy of his own methods, both industrial and educational, he would have counted them as nought if they had not been built up on the firm basis of Catholic truth. Nor was the mere acceptance of Christian dogma sufficient; a man's whole life must be impregnated with an active love of God, manifested in a sense of social obligations. To *le bon père* love of God was like the oil that kept the machinery running smoothly—without it the social machine could not function, however skilfully devised, and social peace and stability could never be attained. Mere intelligent efficiency, based on a purely material conception of life, such as it is the aim of the Ford Company to develop, would have filled him with misgiving. From first to last Harmel was an idealist. It was in the fullness of the religious life at Val-des-Bois in which the whole community participated, in the Sunday Mass heard in common, in the numerous feasts of the Church duly commemorated from which he was never absent, that he found not only his own greatest happiness, but the most potent means of establishing those fraternal relations with the men, women and children of his village on which he set such store. His own intimate religious life was, we know, both true and deep, built up on prayer and self-discipline, and it is worth recording that all through his adult life he was a zealous Tertiary of St. Francis, and that in

his extreme old age he declared solemnly that of all the innumerable graces with which God had enriched him, the most potent of all had been the spirit of the Third Order, that "Franciscan mentality" to which he attributed his unquenchable optimism and enthusiasm.

The tragedy of the Great War fell with special intensity on Val-des-Bois. Situated on the open plains of Champagne, it was occupied at a very early date by German troops; everything of value to the invaders was requisitioned and the population evacuated. Harmel himself had no less than seven grandsons and twenty-eight nephews in the French army, while two of his sons were sent prisoners to Germany. Later, during the bombardment of Reims, the buildings were practically razed to the ground, but it is comforting to know that, like many other factories in Northern France, it was quickly re-built and re-started when once peace was restored.

Le Bon Père, however, died far from his beloved home. On the outbreak of hostilities he was hurried away to Nice, and there, in faith and serenity and confidence in God, he passed to his reward in November, 1915, with some at least of his numerous descendants around him.

It is because Harmel's industrial enterprise presupposed a population in which the Christian faith is still a reality, albeit needing much strengthening and guidance, that the experiment of Val-des-Bois should be of vital interest to Catholic countries.

V. M. Crawford.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF IRELAND. By R. A. S. Macalister, Litt.D. London: Methuen. 1928. 16s. net.

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF UISNEACH. By R. A. S. Macalister and R. Lloyd Praeger. (In the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy). Dublin: Hodges Figgis. 1928. 3s. net.

IRELAND'S PLACE IN PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC EUROPE. By Walther Bremer. Dublin: Hodges Figgis. 1928. 2s. net.

THESE three books exemplify the great advance "on a wide front" that Irish archaeological studies have made in recent years. Professor Macalister abridges in two chapters the contents of his earlier work, "Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times." Five further chapters show how art and industry developed under the Celtic domination, and an eighth deals with the periods of the Scandinavian colonies and of Continental Feudalism. The author stands alone as an authentic exponent of the facts of Irish archaeology. When it comes to speculative interpretation of facts, he has not necessarily the last word. Even as to the facts, we assure ourselves that a large part of his purpose in this volume is to stimulate competent study and exploration in a region where much is still concealed.

There is no chapter in the book that does not arouse deep interest. At the very outset, we learn that the oldest remains of human activity *as yet discovered* in Ireland have been found in what is called "the 25-foot beach," on the north-eastern coast. The same beach-formation, of equal yet distinct archaeological importance, exists beyond Sruth na Maoile. Thus these oldest known remains date from a time when the separating sea was fathoms higher, and therefore wider, than it is now. Yet before that time, and long after the deglaciation of Ireland, various species of quadruped, of forest habitat, came here and lived here—among them the bear, the boar, the wolf, the hyena, and more than one kind of deer. They did not swim that wider sea. Their presence proves a land-connection much later than our last glacial period. Where they came, men could come, and where men could come, men came. It would thus appear that pages, perhaps chapters, are still missing from the beginning of our archaeological record.

Professor Macalister's presentation of Irish archaeological

knowledge in the stage which it had reached prior to the Uisneach exploration will stimulate and guide research. It is impossible to suppress one regret. No man in Ireland equals him in experience of archaeological field work. None has a keener sense of the mischief of unskilled and uninstructed research. None could have better written a chapter of practical instruction on the things to be done and the things not to be done by those whom his book may inspire with archaeological zeal. If to this were added a catalogue of ancient Irish monuments known to have been destroyed within the past century of popular education, and a list of archaeological objects " collected " in such a way as to minimise the knowledge derivable from them, there would be hope for the sorrow that goes before amendment.

II. Ancient Irish writings tell of a Pentarchy which came to an end through one Tuathal Teachtmhar, a king of the Connacht dynasty, who, in the time of the Emperor Adrian, aimed at the sovereignty of Ireland and set up his rule in Uisneach. To be quite modern, one should recognise that Tuathal, as the name of a legendary celebrity, is a synonym for the Corn Spirit. It means " people-strong," from the Celtic *touta* and *val*, cognate with the Latin *valeo*. In proof, we have only to observe that the father of Tuathal was cut down before Tuathal had yet seen the light, and that Tuathal was left for a long time in obscurity before he sprouted into vigour.

Dr. Macalister took the story seriously, and in 1925 he began digging in search of the remains of a royal house on the hill of Uisneach. He returned to the work in the spring of 1926 and again in the autumn. Some traces of ancient habitation were laid bare, but nothing very remarkable. In 1927 he renewed the search, and his faith in the ancient tradition was rewarded by a complete discovery of the stone foundations of the royal house of Uisneach. The Report is copiously furnished with maps, plans, sections, drawings and photographs. A model of the remains of the house, made by Miss Eileen Barnes, has been deposited in the National Museum. For history and archaeology, the Uisneach discovery is of the first importance.

III. The translation of Bremer's essay is published in his memory under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Prefixed to it is a brief account of Bremer's work and attainments, written by Professor Macalister. Coming with a high reputation in archaeology, Bremer held the position of Keeper of Antiquities in the National Museum of

Ireland for less than a year, till untimely death at the age of thirty-nine ended the prospect of great service to the knowledge of our country's past. "In the short nine months that were permitted to him, he made no less than four epoch-making discoveries." His essay deals with early and intimate relations between Ireland and Spain. It goes on to treat of the growth of the arts of the Bronze Age here in Ireland, "the great industrial elevation of Ireland in the second half of the third millennium B.C." (2500-2000 B.C.), illustrated by the distribution of Irish gold ornaments over a wide range of western Europe.

> Down to the third period of the Bronze Age Ireland displays an entirely independent development . . . . The Irish influence upon the development of culture in northern Europe, in the First and [in the] early part of the Second Periods [of the Bronze Age] must have been very strong. But thereafter there fell upon this country a long period of slackness and stagnation . . . . The simplest explanation would be the loss of the Cornish tin-mines ; but this is at best only a vague hypothesis.

Ireland then became subject to a Central-European influence, older however than the Celtic invasion. Even then "in one department Ireland appears to have excelled the rest of Europe, namely in wind music." Of early Irish trumpets the National Museum possesses no fewer than forty-six. They seem to have been played in bands, for they "are usually found in groups containing two, three, four, eight and even fourteen." One find contained at least twenty-two. Their models were imitated in Gaul and Italy. Bremer places the Celtic conquest of Ireland at the end of the First Period of La Tène (400-300 B.C.). In Ireland, La Tène art persists down to St. Patrick's time with "only a slight automatic development."

> It is astonishing how quickly, from the fifth century onward, Ireland became the spiritual centre of Christendom in northwestern Europe . . . . Art, learning, and the spiritual life found their place of abode (apart from a few royal palaces) in the monasteries which sprang up everywhere. In the sculptured decoration of the grave-stones and the high crosses, in the gold and silversmith's work, and in the illuminated manuscripts, Celtic art reached its highest point . . . . The inroads of the Vikings and their partial subjugation of the country exercised an extraordinary stimulus on the advancement of Irish art. This is a remarkable fact to establish ; it runs counter to all the current opinions. No breach of the development took place until Normans and Anglo-Saxons set their feet upon the soil of Ireland, after the middle of the twelfth century.

The essay is a brief but masterly review of Irish archaeology and should stimulate interest and activity in Irish archaeological studies.

E. MacN.

DACIA. An Outline of the Early Civilisations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries. By Vasile Parvan. Cambridge: University Press. 1928. 7s. 6d.

ITALY BEFORE THE ROMANS. By David Randall-MacIver. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford. 1928. 6s.

STUDENTS of Ancient History are slowly learning that their subject has been for centuries the slave of written records. Greek history begins for most of us with Herodotus (unless we take Homer as our starting point), Roman history with the legends recorded in the early books of Livy. Fortunately for us Herodotus had an enquiring mind: Greek history has never been wholly out of contact with the surrounding civilisations of the ancient world. Roman history, on the other hand, has been always astonishingly limited by the Roman narrowness of outlook. How much did we hear when we were at school about any Italian people other than the conquering Roman? Even the Etruscans, to whom Rome plainly owed so much, were dismissed as an irrational, superstitious element.

To-day archaeology has taught us many things, and the two books under review, coming as they do from the two great homes of classical tradition in England, show how far we have got on the new road. Dr. Randall-MacIver is a scholar of the new school. His life's work has been the reinterpretation of early Roman history in the light of modern archaeological finds: two masterly but costly volumes (*Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, and *The Iron Age in Italy*, 84s. each) record his researches: the present little volume, like its predecessor (*The Etruscans*, 6s.), gives a short popular statement of his main conclusions. Beginning with the end of the Neolithic Age, we have chapter by chapter an account of early Bronze Age and Iron Age Italy; and there are nineteen excellent pages of illustrations. Teachers of early Roman history will welcome this scholarly, well-written account.

Professor Parvan's book is even more welcome, though in substance it is of the same slight character as the Oxford volume. For the past twenty years Roumania has been the centre of a very active archaeological school, and Parvan was the life and soul of the whole work until his sudden death two years ago. In March 1926 he was invited to give a course of lectures in Cambridge on the early civilisations of the Carpathian and Danubian countries, his own chosen field of work. This little volume of 200 pages, with sixteen pages of plates at the end of

the book, is the substance of what he prepared for that course. Those who wish for fuller information should consult his great work: *Getica* (1926). He was also, from 1924 onwards, Editor of a Roumanian archaeological periodical, published in French under the title: *Dacia, Recherches et Découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie.*

These details may be useful to students of archaeology in this country, for the Carpathian and Danubian countries of which Parvan writes were for centuries occupied by Celtic peoples, and Roumania is rich in Celtic antiquities. Indeed the value of archaeology as a supplement to the written records of ancient literature could be nowhere better demonstrated than in this country, of which we hear only incidentally in Greek and Roman history—when Darius or Alexander fights his way north to the Danube, or when Trajan conquers and annexes Dacia. Thanks to the scientific diggings of Parvan and his fellow-workers we can now follow the history of the country from its early Bronze Age culture, closely akin to the Villanovan culture of early Italy, down to the final annexation by Rome, and we can see how Scythian and Celtic conquerors, followed by Greek and Roman traders influenced in turn the civilisation of this great central plateau, and in the end prepared the way for Rome's legionaries. Those who are interested in the problems of modern Roumanian nationality should read Parvan's closing pages: they will find much that illustrates the gradual decline of Roman culture in the Danubian lands, and will see that the survival of this island of Latin culture in the midst of Slav and Magyar elements is less miraculous than might at first sight appear. Professor Parvan is an ardent Roumanian nationalist; but his work is none the worse for that. Indeed it would never have been accomplished but for the stimulus given to him and his supporters by this motive of national pride. A. G.

Art

THE LETTERS OF VINCENT VAN GOGH TO HIS BROTHER, 1872-1886. With a Memoir by his Sister-in-law, J. Van Gogh-Bonger. In two volumes. Illustrated. London: Constable. 1927. 63s.

These letters, covering nearly eleven hundred pages, closely printed in small type, are indispensable to the serious student of the history of painting in the nineteenth century. But few people will have the patience to read them sequently. For though Van Gogh, despised as a painter all through his life and until the last

few years, has now come to be reckoned as one of the chief artists of his age, he tells the story of his harassed and agonised existence in a way which has little literary charm. He lived half-crazed, half-starved, alternating between gusts of sordid sensuality and fine religious fervour, without a true friend in the world but that devoted brother whom he seldom saw; and the record of his life makes painful reading. Yet it is deeply interesting. For if ever a man, by dint of sheer persistent toil, encompassed achievement of immense importance, that man was Van Gogh. He did it without clear purpose, groping and fumbling with the aid of an inadequate technique, distracted by childish and incomprehensible admirations and dislikes, but urged on and sustained by an inexorable genius.

Most of the letters now published are undated. The last is written from Antwerp towards the end of February, 1888, just before he started on his memorable journey to Arles, where his art culminated and his reason finally collapsed. Innumerable accounts have been written of his sojourn in Arles and of his extraordinary relations with Gauguin. We have not yet had his own testimony about that strange episode.

His sister-in-law, in a prefatory memoir to the present volumes, sketches his life to its sad, suicidal close in 1890, and gives us to understand that his correspondence with his brother did not cease on his departure from Antwerp. It is greatly to be hoped that her collection of his letters will be supplemented by another volume, enabling a final judgment to be formed about his enigmatic personality.

A scholarly index and a large number of well-produced illustrations from sketches incorporated in the artist's letters, add greatly to the value of these two volumes. THOMAS BODKIN.

THE MADONNA. An Anthology selected and edited by Sir James Marchant, K.B.E. With an Introduction on the Madonna in Art by Sir Charles Holmes, K.C.V.O. London: Longmans. 1928. 18s. net.

THIS handsome and scholarly book deserves high praise and will doubtless have a large sale. No anthology merits existence which does not reflect clearly the predilections of its compiler; and no anthology can be expected, therefore, to suit all tastes. But Sir James Marchant has shown himself catholic in the literary, and almost in the religious sense of the word. He has provided us with an amazing diversity of praise and prayer, in prose and poetry, to the Blessed Virgin. Many of his citations

give evidence of his extraordinarily wide reading. John Donne and Pope Leo XIII., Adelaide Anne Proctor and St. Bernard, Bossuet and Bishop Ullathorne, Dante and the present Poet Laureate stand side by side in the marvellous choir which he has assembled.

There are a few missing who well deserve a place therein. Verlaine is surely one, if only for the exquisite panegyric :—

> Je ne veux plus aimer que ma mère Marie
>
> * * * *
>
> Ella baissa mes yeux et me joignit les mains,
> Elle m'enseigna les mots par lesquels on adore.

Adam of St. Victor is another, qualified by that jewel among twelfth century hymns, the " Salve Mater Salvatoris."

The illustrations, presumably selected by Sir Charles Holmes and excellently reproduced, are almost worthy of the text, though Sir Charles seems to have approached his task more as an expert in the history of pictorial art than as a client of the Blessed Virgin. Many of the pictures he has chosen, while admirable as works of art, are insignificant as aids to devotion ; and his omissions are far more striking than those of Sir James Marchant. Thus, though he gives us two illustrations after Fra Angelico, he omits that painter's, well-nigh universally admitted, masterpiece " The Annunciation " of the Monastery of San Marco, on which is inscribed the verse of Adam of St. Victor :

> Salve Mater pietatis
> Et totius Trinitatis
> Nobile triclinium.

Perhaps this omission was due to a desire to avoid drawing attention to that of the compiler of the text. No such excuse can be advanced for the inclusion of a reproduction of Michael Angelo's half-finished and abandoned Picta in the Palazzo Rondanini, in preference to the same sculptor's incomparable Pieta in St. Peter's.

However, Sir Charles deserves our gratitude for drawing attention to such little-known and fascinating works as the great twelfth century Madonna in mosaic in the apse of the Cathedral at Torcello ; to " The Annunciation " by Gentileschi, in the Gallery of Turin ; and to " The Entombment," by an unknown French sculptor of the late fifteenth century, in Charouce.

Despite its few venial sins of omission this Anthology well deserves a place in every Catholic library between Mrs. Jameson's " Legends of the Madonna " and Signor Venturi's " Madonna." In other words, it is a work of great merit. THOMAS BODKIN

Biography

THE LIFE OF THE VEN. JOSEPH PASSERAT, C.SS.R. (1772-1858). By the Rev. H. Girouille, C.SS.R. Translated by the Rev. J. Carr, C.SS.R. London : Sands. 1929. 12s. 6d.

IN the autumn of 1792 a quarter-master of the French Revolutionary army slipped across to the German lines whilst his men were at work laying out a camp in Lorraine. "Who are you ?" he was asked when he reached the enemy's lines. "Joseph Passerat" was the answer. "Joseph ne passera pas," said the German sentry—but he was wrong. Quarter-master Passerat got through, and lived to become Vicar General of the Redemptorist Fathers north of the Alps.

His vocation had never been an easy one. Born in the Haute-Marne in 1772, he was still a boy when the Revolution broke out, and as a boy he had to face temptations which those older than he in the Faith were unable to overcome. "I saw my own curé, my confessor and my professor all go over into schism together," he once said of those early years, "and still I was not moved." The strength of character which brought him safely through these years of stress was his to the end. Even when he became, sorely against his will, a conscript in the Revolutionary Army, he never for a moment wavered in his determination to give his life to God as a Catholic priest. And Providence had strange ways of protecting his vocation. When he was called up to the colours, his fine physique made such an impression on the recruiting sergeant that he was straightaway appointed drum-major—a post which saved him from the dread of incurring an irregularity by killing his man. Then came promotion, and with it the chance to escape.

Once across the lines, his adventures began again—this time in search of a school where Catholic doctrine was taught free from the errors of Josephism or any form of modified Rationalism, to use our more modern phrase. What he wanted, he found in Würzburg, where a group of ex-Jesuits were teaching theology after the Suppression of the Society. And thus was laid the connection between the work of the future Redemptorist and the Jesuit Fathers which is a striking feature of this most interesting biography.

From Würzburg Passerat went to Warsaw, and there he found his spiritual home. For St. Clement Hofbauer had been making Warsaw the centre of Redemptorist activity north of the Alps, and it was in his famous church of St. Benno's that young Passerat got his first training in Redemptorist spirituality and Redemp-

torist missionary zeal. "Give me four Hofbauers for the pulpit and four Passerats for the confessional, and I shall convert the world," said one delighted parish priest. So apt a pupil did he prove that St. Clement chose the young Frenchman to be Superior of a new House of Studies that he opened near Schaffhausen in 1803. Fr. Passerat was only just thirty, but he had learned in a school of apostolic mysticism such as was hardly to be found elsewhere in Europe at the time, and we have his own confession that from these early days in Switzerland he lived in a state of unbroken mystical contemplation.

A summary of the life's work recorded in this volume is out of the question. Apart from the actual foundations which Father Passerat established in Switzerland, Austria, France, Belgium, England and America, there is—more important than them all—his battle for the strict observance of the Redemptorist rule. But to the student of Catholic history in general perhaps the most interesting chapters—as they are certainly the most human in the variety of their experiences—are the half-dozen chapters at the end of Part I. in which are told the persecutions which Fr. Passerat and his small group of Redemptorist students and young priests had to endure during a stay of seventeen years in Switzerland and the neighbouring districts of Southern Germany. A map is given to make the record of their wanderings—often at great peril to their lives— more easily intelligible: eleven houses in seventeen years is no mean record of constant suffering.

Over this same ground, some ten years later, the first Jesuits to come West from Poland (with Father John Roothaan as one of their number) were also to wander, and to find, as Father Passerat found, shelter and kindly hospitality in the Catholic cantons. And these early Redemptorists were persecuted, as the Jesuits were persecuted, first by the Bavarian Government, then by the Swiss Protestants, then by Napoleon and his tools, because in "these new-fangled monks"—to use Napoleon's phrase—each government in turn saw the danger of a revival of Catholic fervour in districts where the Faith, though dormant, was still strong. The work of revival was hindered for a time, but it could not be stopped; and this year, as we celebrate the centenary of Catholic Emancipation, looking back on those troubled and anxious days when the Catholic cause seemed well nigh lost, we can more easily understand what the work of men like Father Passerat and Father Roothaan meant for Catholic Europe. Both men are now candidates for the honours of the altar, and Father Passerat's cause is already far advanced. We hope that this able biography,

which has been admirably translated by Father Carr, will do much to promote devotion to a great modern mystic who was also a great apostle of modern Europe.

A. Gwynn.

THE BLACK BOOK OF EDGEWORTHSTOWN AND OTHER EDGEWORTH MEMORIES. Edited by Harriet Jessie Butler and Harold Edgeworth Butler. London : Faber and Gwyer. 1927. 18s. net.

It is not often that private family archives yield the compiler of memoirs so rich a store of material as is to be found in the documents out of which this capital book has been made. When the compiler belongs to the family whose records he presents to the general public, the successful accomplishment of his task calls for more than interesting material. He must be judicious in his selection, and he must have sufficient good sense to keep him from endeavouring to gild his family tree—a fault to which family vanity is only too likely to fall a victim. The editors of the present volume have both these qualifications, and the result is a book at once charming and entertaining—in every way quite worthy of the delightful form in which the publishers present it to the public.

The period covered extends from 1585, when the first of the Edgeworths made his appearance in Ireland, to 1817, when died Richard Lovell Edgeworth, father of Maria, a personage ridiculous for many eccentricities, but withal an estimable and noteworthy figure.

The first comers to Ireland found the land much to their taste. They fell on their feet at once, and one of them, Francis, obtained from James I. a considerable tract of Irish land—some 600 acres—in the vicinity of the town that now bears the family name.

The family fortunes suffered their share of ups and downs in the troubled years that followed ; they suffered too from the wastefulness and recklessness that distinguished many of the Edgeworths. The editors tell the story in a very interesting manner, even though one must admit that several of the successors of Francis were people of but little importance in either their public or private capacities.

By far the most interesting and lovable figure in the book is the Abbé Edgeworth, born in 1745, and son of a mother who was grand-daughter of Archbishop Ussher. His father, who held the living of Edgeworthstown, was converted to Catholicity, and on

resigning his living, migrated to Toulouse with his whole family, who were there received into the Church. The Abbé was educated at Toulouse, where he came under the influence of the great Dr. Moylan afterwards Bishop of Cork. The friendship between them was strong and not to be weakened by separation. They were constant correspondents, and their letters form important documents for the facts of the life of the Abbé. When he became a priest he lived in quiet and retirement, zealous only for the tasks of his calling. The storm of the Revolution drew him into the light of publicity and won for him an undying place in history. The book gives in his own letters the story of his ministrations to Louis XVI in the hours preceding his execution, and of his attendance on the monarch in his dreary journey to the scaffold. These letters are all the more poignant by reason of their artlessness and sincerity, and one is thankful to have them as they were written. The Abbé lived on until 1807. His later years were spent in a manner quite other than that of his life up to 1793. The priest who sought only to fulfil in quiet and obscurity his priestly duties, was now in attendance on a fugitive and exiled court—"an example of virtue and an assuager of misfortune," as Louis XVIII. described him in the epitaph he wrote for his tomb—and he died ministering to typhus-stricken French soldiers, prisoners in Russian hands at Mittau—surely a martyr to duty and the greatest of his name.

Of the other noteworthy members of the house, Richard Lovell and his daughter Maria, there are given interesting accounts. Maria is too well-known to need any introduction, but what this book tells of her may usefully supplement what belongs to the story of English literature.

Her father, so well known for his many peculiarities and angularities, was, no doubt, a pragmatical bore in many of his aspects—how could an intimate friend of the author of *Sandford and Merton* be other than a bore?—but he had other qualities as well that fell but little short of genius, especially in regard to applied science. He was a much married man, and the story of his successive espousals and widower's griefs makes somewhat humorous reading. As a public man he played an honourable part in the Ireland of his later years—the period of '98 and the Union—of which this book gives many interesting details. Certainly the family has stronger claims to the respect and good feeling of Irishmen than can be adduced for most of those immigrant families who found in this country the foot-stool to prosperity and greatness.

One may repeat that this is an excellent book, full of entertaining matter, a lively book that will bear re-reading, no slight tribute to a book of its *genre*.

W. J. W.

Celtica

AN RÁBAIRE BÁN. Nioclás Tóibín do Scríobh. Blácliath : Muintear Ó Fallamhain agus Oifig an tSoláthair. 1928. 3s.

Ins an Réamh-rádh deir an t-ughdar linn, nuair bhí " cnámhna agus snáithe an scéil so curtha le chéile aige, go raibh sé féin chomh bogtha leis go ndearna sé rún de go gcuirfeadh sé fuil agus feoil ar na cnámhna san." Is maith an nidh do lucht léighte na Gaedhilge gur sheas sé an rún san.

Seadh ! tá sé chomh maith dhom gan fiacal do leagaint air mar scéal. Admhuighim, uime sin, go mbíonn doicheall dofhaisnéise orm le seal roimh fhinnscéalta, bíoth féin gur as Gaedhilg do ceapadh agus do scríobhadh iad. Óir ni h-amháin gur cailleamhaint aimsire dá lucht léighte agus dá lucht soláthartha iad, dar liom, acht síor-léigheamh finnscéal crapann sé an t-aigne : baineann sé dá neart, dá righne is dá fhuinneamh, i slighe gur leasc leis, as a los, dul i dtreis le h-aon adhbhar airdléighinn chruaidh ;—agus, dar ndó, is mairg don chineadh i nach maith le h-uatha féin de roighne a aois léighinn dul in achrann le h-adhbhair léighinn dá chruaidhe.

De dheascaidh na h-inntinne seo, ag tosnughadh dhom ar an scéal so Niocláis do léigheamh, bhí leath-chlaon mór orm i gcoinne na finnscéalaidheachta in iol-choitcheann. Caithim a admháil anois, ámh, gur ghearr an mhoill ar " bhriathra bláithe briocht-shnoighte " an ughdair mo leath-chlaon do shárughadh agus d'iombádhadh ; óir bhí de dhraoidh-neart ins an " tsnáithe " úd mise do tharraing go foiréigneach chomh dlúth san ar lorga an Rábaire agus Neans, san uile chor dár chuireadar díobh, nár fhéadas an leabhar do leagaint uaim gur chuir mé deireadh leis.

Is dócha, arsa tusa, ná fuil locht, dá laghad, agat air mar scéal ná mar Ghaedhilg, ná mar aon rud eile, dá réir seo ? Tá mhuise, fo-locht. Ar ndó, gheibhtear lochta ar aislingthe Eoin Ruaidh féin, agus, dá n-abrochainn é, ar gach uile innreamh daona. Acht má tá féin, is suarach le rádh iad i gcoimeas le cantacht agus le fortamhlas an leabhair de thaobh Gaedhlinge (ní gábhadh a rádh), de thaobh scéalaidheachta, de thaobh sárlitridheachta.—Iomthúsa na locht, ámh : ar dtús an pósadh ; ar mh'fhalaing gur bhain cúrsaí an phósta úd gáire maith asam !

Fé mar bhí an dlighe eaglasta san am is dócha go raibh bail air,—gur snadhmadh an ceangal idir an mbeirt, agus go ndeachadar grásta na Sacraiminte i dtairbhe dhóibh ; —sé sin, munar fógruigheadh, roimhe sin, forchongra Mór-Chomhairle Threinte i Ráth ó gCormac ! Acht munar fhógruigheadh féin, b'fhearr liomsa mé im sheasamh im bróga féin, dá olcas iad, ná i mbróga an t-sagairt úd Rátha ó gCormac, an mhaidin na dhiaidh. Agus ní h-é mo chomharsa ón gCarraig Bhig ba mheasa liom acht easbog Phortláirge. Óir, ní chosnochadh Fionn féin go n-a shlóighte mé ar bhuille bhasctha a bhachaille súd. Ar an dara h-aitheasc,—" beag sochar na sír-mheisce," b'é mo tuairim agus me ghá léigheamh an iomarca caithimh ar fad ag Nioclás i ndiaidh na seanfhocal, i riocht gur dóigh leat gur scratha aige iad le caitheamh le daoine. Uaireanta, dar ndóigh níl rud ar domhan is deise chuirfeadh an dlaoi mhullaigh agus an buille scuir ar abairt duit ná ceann aca. Acht, thairis sin, is " searbh gach síorghnáth."

Rud eile, b'fhearr le n-a lán againn ainmeacha iasc mar feannóg nó dúileachán, ronnach, mongach (mangach, mágach), agus a samhla eile, ghá ndingeadh aige isteach i gceann ár n-aois scol ná cuid dá bhfuil aige. Agus, ós ag cáineadh mé, ní fheadar-sa féin nár bh'fheairrde de chomhairle é a thuilleadh de ' chruadhfhocail agus de chruadh-ráidhte ' do shleanhnú isteach go gasta, glic. Géilltear an iomarca ar fad, dar liom, do bhacaidheacht lucht léighte na Gaeghilge ar an dtaobh so. Agus cad atá dá bharr againn ? Tá, dul-chum-cinn nach fíor-dhul-chum-cinn ar aon chor, agus crot an dealbhais ag sír-leanamhaint de cheann des na teangacha is saidhbhire dár labhair beola daona riamh ! Ní ghá rádh atáim go bhfuil aon chrot dealbhais ar fhriotal an ughdair, mar níl. Má chlaoidh sé leis an ndiúide féin, níor fhág san a pheann gan ghontacht ná gan chantacht ná gan go fiú deárscnaidheacha. 'Na fhochair seo thug sé finnscéal do Ghaedhil a theagas thar ghrádh is thar phósadh, agus, na dhiaidh sin, atá chomh glan, chomh h-ionnraic, chomh geanmnach, chomh nósoirdheirc, caoimh-bhéasta san nár mhiste d'aoinne,—leanbh nó naomh nó Bláithín eile féin, é do léigheamh. Mo léir dhóighte nach amhlaidh gach uile ughdar ! Acht táthar ann a mheasas, dar leat, nach deagh-scéal go truaillmheon ná nach litridheacht go gáirse. A bhuidhe le Dia nach den scoil úd ughdar an scéil fhortamhail, fholláin, ion-tuatha so. Go mba thógálach a dheismireacht, agus, go gcúitighe Dia agus a fhine ghriain féin a shaothar leis !

Micheál Mac Craith.

Education

SOME METHODS OF TEACHING RELIGION. By John T. McMahon, M.A., Ph.D. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1928. Pp. xiv., 265. 7s. 6d. net.

DR. MCMAHON, in this serviceable survey of five contemporary Plans for Religious Instruction, had principally in view the actual needs of his own diocese of Perth, West Australia, where he took up work some seven years ago as Inspector of Religious Training in Schools. These needs were both urban and rural. The former type has been well provided for on settled lines of organisation. The rural system which Dr. McMahon devised was of a very exceptional character. There were no schools available: the pupils were about 1,000 in number, being the children of isolated bush settlers scattered over half a million square miles. The plan devised was based on correspondence, with some parental aid, uncertain in quality and amount, as can well be understood. It made good use of experienced teachers in urban centres, and developed the personal touch. An account of its working plans is promised as a supplemental section to this more formal exposition and criticism of the systems advocated and used, in Religious Instruction, with which Dr. McMahon established contact when planning for his "Bushies," the boys and girls of the dispersed homesteads of West Australia.

These surveys are of considerable personal interest, as well as of professional utility. The Munich Method is the least attractive in the former respect: Dr. McMahon shows that it is closely fitted to the dismal philosophy and very formal pedagogy of Herbart. But every Irish and every American student of education will be drawn by the Yorke Method, discussed in some thirty pages. What a vigorous personality lay behind that method! More professional in spirit and organisation is the method associated with the well-remembered name of Dr. Thomas E. Shields, of the Catholic University of America, whose early death was a real loss to the cause of scientific study in education. The Sower Scheme, in its turn, is expounded and appraised; so is the Project Method, which has considerable merits in Dr. McMahon's eyes.

The whole treatise is that of an active campaigner on the front, who takes a limited period of travel and observation to weigh and sample the goods provided in academic study centres. It is all the better for that; it would have been better still for a good index, at least of topics and views. There is a short but practical and well ordered bibliography prefixed to this piece of

solid work, done in various places in America as well as at University College, Dublin, under the University requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. T. T.

ADULT LEARNING. By E. L. Thorndike; E. O. Bregman; J. Warren Tilton and Ella Woodyard, Institute of Educational Research, Columbia University. New York and London: Macmillan. 1928. Pp. 345. 10s. net.

This volume is the outcome of some two years of collaboration in research work, financed by the Carnegie Corporation. Thirteen chapters and sixteen appendices are about equally divided between complex statistical tables giving the results of what is termed research, and a collection, under various vague heads, of mere arbitrary expressions of general impressions and views. A fair specimen of what is here advanced as research and scientific investigation is found in the statistics of Chapter IX. (pp. 108-125), concerned with "Testimony as to Adult Learning." The statistical presentation of results is here made conspicuous and elaborate. It is based on the replies of ninety-nine adults to an extraordinary questionnaire with eighty-three heads. The following specimens may be cited:—

At what age did you learn to (11) eat olives; (12) eat spinach; (13) eat tomatoes; (14) eat raw oysters?

47. Are mice now objects of fear, repulsion, nervousness to you?

53. Do you now have sudden fits of (*a*) rage; (*b*) depression; (*c*) excitement?

60. Do you now think that Jonah lived for days inside a whale's belly?

61. Did you ever think so?

62. At what age did you change your opinion?

63. Do you now think that Judas, Nero, and such people are suffering bodily torture in a special place called Hell?

64. Did you ever think so?

65. At what age did you change your opinion?

Let there even be cited the commentary on the tabulated statistical returns—at least a part of it:—

The reports concerning learning to eat olives, spinach, and raw oysters, and to drink tea and coffee, do not differ appreciably, and the sexes do not differ appreciably with respect to them. They appear in Table 44. There is a very wide age range. Tomatoes, which are somewhat more attractive to the natural palate, are eaten earlier; but the testimony is emphatic that the habit would be easier to form in later years. The number of cases who had given up tea, coffee, alcohol, or tobacco was very scant. We lump them all together.

Lest this be thought an exceptional passage, consider another, taken from Chapter XI (pp. 126-153) on "Age Changes in Ability to Learn and in Amount Learned." Amid elaborated tables and graphs lurks this great truth (page 131): "There can be little doubt that at some time between twenty and ninety the inner developmental forces which made the ability to learn wax, give place, in most persons, to other inner forces which make it wane." And again, from Chapter XIII, "Practical Applications" (pp. 177-194), we glean that "On the whole, it seems that attention and money spent to provide proper food, sleep, dental care, ultra violet radiation, good companions, and good books, will produce better returns in respect of the inner developments of both the body and the mind, than equal amounts spent in any other ways that we now know about" (p. 188). An incontrovertible dogma, this, from American Educational Ethics.

The total collapse of all the elaborately formulated statistics on Transfer of Skill, published in hundreds of works from 1890 to 1917, and the imminent collapse of the more portentous figures concerning Intelligence Tests, 1917-1928, would seem to have taught nothing to the promoters of educational research in the United States. This laborious volume is no exception.

T. C.

History

HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF TUAM. By the Right Rev. Monsignor D'Alton, P.P., LL.D., M.R.I.A. Vol. I. pp. xvi. + 388; Vol. II., pp. xii. + 379. Dublin: Phoenix Publishing Company. 1928. 42s.

TUAM is not only one of the largest, but it is also the most Irish of the dioceses of Ireland, and as it counts among its archbishops some of the most distinguished prelates of the Irish Church, its story should throw considerable light on the ecclesiastical history of our country. The medieval period has already been studied by Hubert Knox in his Notes on the Dioceses of Tuam, Killala and Achonry (1904), and the results of his researches into the organisation of the Church and the transmission of ecclesiastical lands at that time are accepted and incorporated by Mgr. D'Alton. The Calendars of State Papers and Papal Registers are also laid under contribution, and detailed lives of the archbishops of the last hundred years form a not inconsiderable portion of the book. The work is written in a flowing, popular style, and provides the ordinary reader with a useful record of the past, but is from certain

points of view unsatisfactory to the serious student. In a diocesan history the religious element should predominate, and many, we believe, will hold that too much space has been allotted to civil and political affairs, which are equally well recounted in general histories of Ireland. The author appears to be but poorly acquainted with the Irish language in which many of the early records are written, and he occasionally advances opinions which scholars have long since abandoned. Even where accuracy could easily have been attained, dates and other figures are usually given in round numbers. Important documents like the Taxation of 1306, Bodkin's Visitation of 1559, or the list of Registered Priests of 1704, have not been printed in full, and available sources of information have often not been utilised. Some examples to justify these remarks will now be given.

Few will agree for instance with the statement (I. 12) that "the weight of evidence goes to show" that St. Patrick was born at Dumbarton in 372, carried off as slave to Ireland in 388, ordained and consecrated bishop at Rome, and that he died in 493. St. Benignus Mac Lugnai, patron of Kilbannon, is wrongly identified with St. Benignus Mac Sescnein of Armagh (I. 18 and II. 276), though the two saints are clearly distinguished in the Book of Armagh. This point has been exhaustively discussed in the last volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists by P. Grosjean, S.J., and the conclusions at which he arrived were published in this review in December, 1926. From this same source the author might have learned that Killower does not mean "the Church of the book," for the Irish form of the name is Cell Fhabhuir. Twice we are told (I. 54, 90) that diocesan episcopacy was established in the Irish Church in the twelfth century, and the author speaks of the days when the Church in Ireland "was purely a monastic church." Such statements are unjustifiable as the records of our early Church, both Irish and Latin, conclusively prove. The "purely monastic Church" is a chimera, and its existence would destroy all claim of the Irish Church to orthodoxy.

In writing the history of a diocese it is of primary importance to determine the succession of the bishops. Tuam is a difficult diocese to deal with in this respect, for it absorbed in the course of its history the neighbouring dioceses of Annaghdown and Mayo. The author's treatment of these absorbed dioceses is unsatisfactory; in neither case is the succession of bishops as given, accurate or complete, and the author speaks of the bishops appointed by the Holy See to these two dioceses during the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as merely titular bishops (I. 160 ; II. 209-12). Now in the Roman records of their appointments there is not the slightest trace that they were not real bishops, in the fullest sense, of their respective Sees ; nor is there any warrant for using the word titular bishop in the sense of absentee bishop, as the author seems to do (II. 212). The part dealing with the diocese of Tuam is fuller, but not complete. We are told for instance that nothing is known of Thomas O'Kelly (1438-41) or John de Burgo (1441-50) or Thomas O'Mulally (1514-36) before they were appointed to the Archiepiscopal See, although it is matter of common knowledge that the first had been bishop of Clonfert, the second abbot of Cong, O.S.A., and the third bishop of Clonmacnoise. With regard to O'Mulally's successor Mgr. D'Alton says : " Perhaps he was Denis O'Dwyer, a member of a well-known and powerful Munster family," who, however, he goes on to say seems to have been merely a titular bishop of Mayo appointed in 1574. In the latter part of this statement he comes near the truth, but there was no such person as Denis O'Dwyer, the person intended is Dermit O'Cliera, a native of Mayo, who was appointed full bishop of Mayo on 12th February, 1574. O'Cliera's successor in the See of Mayo was the martyr bishop, Patrick O'Hely. An account of the latter's life is given, but no notice is taken of his activities on the Continent before his return, though these have an important bearing on the question of his martyrdom. The sketches of the careers of the archbishops Nicholas Skerret (1580-83) and Miler O Huiginn (1586-90) are extremely meagre and incomplete. The statement that when Father Thomas White, S.J., was removed from the rectorship of the Irish College, Salamanca, " a rector nominated by Conry took his place " (I. 233) is quite unfounded. The new rector was a Spanish Jesuit appointed in the ordinary way by the Jesuit Provincial of Castile. Conry's interference proved well nigh disastrous to the College, and after three years the Spaniards had to be removed and the charge of the College restored to the Irish Jesuits. Archbishop James Linch (1669-1713) was not educated at the Irish College, Rome. Important events of his career are passed over in silence, for instance, there is not a word about the ordinations he performed, though the names of some sixty priests ordained by him, with the dates and places of ordination, were published long ago. Antony Blake, Archbishop of Armagh (1758-87), a native of Tuam, was not educated at St. Omer's and Lorraine, as stated here (II. 232). He was educated at the Irish Jesuit Colleges of Santiago and Salamanca in Spain,

and graduated as Doctor of Theology at the latter place. After his return home his career was not so obscure as Mgr. D'Alton represents. He returned to Ireland in 1729 and was appointed P.P. and V.G. of the diocese the following year.

Let us return now to the period of the Reformation. It is incorrect to say that the assent of the Irish Parliament to the Act constituting Henry VIII. Supreme Head of the Church was not obtained until the proctors or representatives of the clergy in parliament were expelled (I. 161); for the Act of Supreme Head was passed in May, 1536, and the Act declaring the proctors of the clergy not to be members of Parliament was not passed till the session that lasted from October to December 1537, more than a year and a half later.

The legitimate successor of O'Mulally in the See of Tuam was unquestionably Art (not Maurice as he is here called) O Frighil, who was appointed by the Pope on 7th October, 1538, and was granted the pallium on 4th December, 1538. Henry VIII. had meanwhile schismatically intruded into the vacant See Christopher Bodkin, till then Catholic bishop of Kilmacduagh. For a Catholic there can be no doubt who the legitimate successor was. Bodkin not only entered into the vacant See illegitimately, but renounced the Pope and took the Oath of supremacy to Henry VIII., and he repeated this performance under Queen Elizabeth in 1560. Yet Mgr. D'Alton deals leniently with him. While Hugh O'Kelly, the last Abbot of Cong, whom he considers to have been a layman, is rightly described as an apostate (II. 300) for taking the Oath of Supremacy to Henry VIII., of Bodkin, Mgr. D'Alton says: "It is not necessary to assume that he was a schismatic, for he held office under Queen Mary as well as under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, and he could not have done so if he renounced the supremacy of the Pope. He was a clever courtier, able to steer his bark when the waters were dangerous" (II. 286); and again: "Though Bodkin was a royal favourite, he was more of a time-server than a heretic or schismatic. His acceptance of the King's supremacy was merely nominal and never sincere, and except for this he was quite orthodox. And in considering who was the ruler of Tuam in these days it is Bodkin that counts, and O Frighil may be ignored" (I. 162). To Catholic ears these expressions must seem strange. Surely a more severe judgment should be passed on the unfaithful bishop than on the supposed layman. That Bodkin has any right to appear in a list of Catholic Archbishops of Tuam is very questionable indeed, but we need not enter into the arguments *pro* and *contra* here.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the material for history becomes more abundant, for with the relaxation of the Penal Laws against Catholics the Irish bishops began to take part more openly in the public life of the country. Their intervention was not always happy, as Mgr. D'Alton admits. In extenuation of Archbishop Dillon's attitude on the Union and the Veto he puts forward the rather weak plea that the archbishop "was not a politician" and that "he was unfamiliar with the tricks of statesmen, especially of British statesmen, and quite unable to fathom the perfidy of men like Pitt and Castlereagh" (I. 336). The conclusion is evident, but it is not drawn.

Our best diocesan historians are distinguished by the care with which they strove to put on record all the information they could gather locally about saints, patterns, inscribed stones, old customs and Irish placenames and other such monuments of the past, all hastening towards decay; and it seems strange that the great diocese of Tuam, where Irish is still so widely spoken, should be so completely outdistanced by other less favourably situated dioceses. Again it would appear from the works of the above-mentioned writers that it is possible, in spite of all difficulties, to reconstitute with practical completeness the succession of parish priests from 1700 on. For Tuam that task still remains to be done. The Catholic Directory alone supplies a full list of parish priests and curates in every parish year by year from 1836 to the present day; but incredible as it may sound, this source of information has apparently not been utilized.

The chapter on the writers of the archdiocese (II. 340-67) is marred by incompleteness and inaccuracy, and these defects are particularly noticeable where Irish literature is concerned. The description of Florence Conry's "Sgáthán an Chrábhaidh" as a catechism in Irish is quite inexcusable, seeing that this work has frequently been correctly described by different writers. Miler O Huiginn is omitted in this chapter, though we are told (I. 192) that he wrote some hymns. Evidently Mgr. D'Alton has not read the archbishop's poems, though several of them have already been published. The Alithinologia of John Lynch is called Alithnalogia (II. 347): the description of it is very inadequate, and the equally important work of the same writer, called Supplementum Alithinologiæ, is not mentioned at all. The hostile criticism of Canon Ulick Bourke's Aryan Origin of the Gaelic Race and Language can hardly be freed from the note of unfairness. Whatever the defects of its English style may be, this book familiarized the ordinary reading public of Ireland with the results

of the researches of Continental scholars in the field of comparative philology, and gave the death blow to those absurd theories of the Phoenician origin of the Irish language which had fascinated many Irish writers from the days of MacCurtin and Vallancey. Tuam should account it an honour that, in the years of depression following the Famine, it produced Canon Bourke to champion the cause of Irish as a spoken language and hand on the torch to a younger generation.

J. MacErlean

THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND INDIA. By E. H. Warmington. Cambridge: University Press. 1928. 15s.

Mr. Warmington's book appears almost as a companion volume to Mr. Charlesworth's *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, published by the Cambridge Press in 1924 and now in its second edition. Mr. Warmington has taken one aspect of the general problem raised by the economic life of the Roman Empire, and has amassed an enormous amount of material in illustration of his thesis. Unfortunately the material is not very well arranged. We have first a historical survey of Roman traffic with the Far East, and then a detailed analysis of that trade. All notes and references are reserved for the end of the volume, where they form an undigested mass, unattractive to the eye and bewildering to all save the professional student. What is gained in space by this method of printing is undoubtedly lost in clearness and general convenience. However it is well worth while making an effort to master the contents of this very able book.

The main thesis which Mr. Warmington defends is that the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus had an immense and permanent effect on the economic life of Rome. The revival of the Indian trade which is already apparent under Augustus is suddenly stimulated under Claudius and Nero, and becomes one of the most important factors in the life of the Empire for the next two centuries. Dates are here important, and it is a pity that Mr. Warmington has not expressed himself more clearly on the date which he assigns to Hippalus. His own opinion inclines to 40 A.D. as the more probable date for the final discovery, and he has an interesting analysis of the various stages which Pliny distinguishes in its history. But he is not quite clear as to where he places Hippalus in the story, and he even

hesitates to reject the recent theory of Kornemann and Chwostow, according to whom Hippalus lived early in the first century B.C. Quite recently Mr. Charlesworth has discussed these problems in the *Classical Quarterly* and has shown that, wherever we may put Hippalus in the various stages described by Pliny, we cannot possibly put him as early as the Ptolemaic era. However, both critics are agreed as to the true date of the *Periplus*, somewhere between 60 and 80 A.D.—most probably the earlier date.

Another point on which I find it hard to accept Mr. Warmington's conclusions is his insistence on the theory that Hippalus did not actually discover the use of the monsoon, but merely revealed to Greek traders a secret which had long been the property of Indian and Arabian seamen. As far as I know this view rests on nothing but conjecture, and I find it simply impossible to believe that Greek sailors were content to coast along the Arabian and Persian shores for the three centuries which separate the voyage of Nearchus from the reign of Augustus, whilst all the time Arabian and Indian traders were making use of the shorter and more profitable route. It is indeed true that Mr. Warmington has collected some very interesting information to prove that Arabian middlemen did succeed for centuries in keeping certain trade secrets from the Greeks, notably the true nature and origin of cinnamon; but this is the typical achievement of middlemen, and is a very different matter to the successful concealment of a great trade-route. What evidence is there that the Arabs were more than successful and very avaricious middlemen in their trade between East and West? It is only later, in the days of the Caliphate and of Sinbad the Sailor, that we hear of them as enterprising seamen with a taste for exploration.

All the second part of this book is of unusual value, being by far the most detailed account of Indo-Roman trade that has yet appeared. The section entitled "The Adverse Balance" is perhaps the most interesting in the whole book. Mr Warmington thinks that the wholesale export of specie to the Far East was a mistake, but he does not reckon it a decisive factor in the decline of Roman commerce. What he has to say of the trade in pepper and silk and cinnamon is also of great interest, and his account of the trade in Indian agates and precious stones throws a great deal of light on the history of Roman art. But is he right in identifying the Serae of Latin literature with the Chera Kingdom of Southern India rather than with China?

A. G.

MODERN CAPITALISM. Its Origin and Evolution. By Henri Sée. London : Noel Douglas. 1928. 12s. 6d. net.

Since M. Henri Sée retired from the professorship of Modern History at Rennes in 1920 he has published several valuable works on economic history. His book entitled *Les Origines du capitalisme moderne* has now been translated into English by Professors Vanderblue and Doriot, and has been issued in a handsome volume, enriched with many interesting illustrations.

Professor Sée's aim is to trace the historical development of modern capitalist society, which is characterized by extreme mobility of capital, large quantities of transferable securities, and class distinction resting on an economic rather than a legal foundation. The earliest appearance of Capitalism was in Italy, where the development of overseas trade gave rise to the necessity for media of exchange. With the growth of a special banking or money-lending class capitalism passed from the commercial to the financial stage. In this period of its development it was encouraged by the borrowing necessities of princes and states, and by the great increase of trade which followed on the discovery of the New World. Holland was the centre of financial capitalism, and the decline of the commercial greatness of Holland and the simultaneous economic progress of England and France marked the transition from the financial to the industrial stage of capitalistic development. The outstanding features of this third stage of evolution were the emergence of the captain of industry and the joint-stock company. The essential feature of modern society is that "all three forms of capitalism—commercial, financial and industrial—function concurrently." Such, in brief, is the author's contention.

The now fashionable theory that modern capitalism owes its origin to religious influences is not altogether accepted by Professor Sée. The thesis put forward by Troeltsch and Weber, that capitalism is the economic expression of Calvinism, and that of Sombart, that modern society has been principally moulded by Jewish influences, are shortly discussed, and are allowed "a share of truth, for the Jews and the Puritans were able to contribute to the bringing into play of a capitalistic mentality." Elsewhere the author remarks that "Max Weber's theory is partly true, but it takes into account only one aspect of the situation."

G. O'B.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHICAL THEOLOGY. By F. R. Tennant, D.D., B.Sc., Fellow of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge. Volume I., The soul and its Faculties. Cambridge University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi. + 422. 21s. net.

THIS work is a philosophical introduction to theology, and is intended to serve as a compendium in which students will find what they require to know concerning questions and theories which have a bearing on the cognitive basis of religion. It deals especially with problems in the fields of psychology and epistemology. It is an important intellectual achievement, conspicuous for its comprehensiveness, subtlety and literary finish.

The title, "The Soul and its Faculties," does not adequately represent the contents of the book. The lengthy exposition of psychology in the earlier chapters is really introductory to the main question. These chapters follow largely the views of Ward, of whom Dr. Tennant is an enthusiastic pupil. The chapters on the Self and the Soul, and on Empirical Self and Personality, are especially instructive.

The central problem to which the discussion leads is that of the status of faith as compared with knowledge. The line of argument is very original and interesting. It amounts to the contention that knowledge and faith, so far from being in conflict with each other, are both essentially alike. Describing faith, by a free adaptation of the scriptural text, as a substantiation of things hoped for, he finds that knowledge also is a realisation of a venture. Faith is intrinsic to the foundations of all knowledge. Even at the level of perception, knowledge involves an element of postulation. In scientific knowledge this is still more pronounced. In the case of most of what passes for positive science, its very foundations are dependent ultimately on pragmatic verification. "We might say: by faith, or by hope, Newton founded physics on his few and simple laws of motion; by faith the atomists of ancient Greece conceived the reign of law throughout the material world; and so on."

The faith here meant is not religious faith, but the latter is essentially the same in kind. Its special nature will be discussed in the second volume. From the present volume we gather that it is not a matter of subjective feeling, nor of subjective valuation, but brings us into touch with a really existing, unseen world. "Theology founded on faith is essentially metaphysical dogma." "It shall be argued in the sequel, that the theistic interpretation

of the world is but a carrying to completion, and an explication of the implicit belief of science in what is vaguely called the rationality of the world." "Ultimately . . . science and theology are of the same epistemological status."

In his discussion of the various theories of knowledge, Dr. Tennant closes many doors which have been open to Apologetics. He is especially severe on Rationalism, but deals chiefly with its extreme types. It is a pity that he does not seem to have given serious attention to the classical Scholastic systems. He scarcely refers to them; and it is curious that his one citation from St. Thomas is from the English translation. The moderated "Rationalism" of these systems, admitting close interaction between intellect and sense, and their moderate Realism, are very different from the views which he attacks. His own solution seems to lower unduly the status of knowledge, and misapprehends the true nature of religious faith. It is interesting to note the parallel between his treatment of the problem of knowledge and faith and the discussions in Newman's *Grammar of Assent.* The resemblance in some features is outweighed by the wide divergence on the essential points. Both assign a large part to probability in ordinary knowledge; and both set a low valuation on formal logic. Dr. Tennant says: "There is more in knowledge than logic and more in reason than ratiocination and rationality." Although Newman uses similar language, his view has nothing of the dislogistic tendency of Dr. Tennant's. The latter is all but open Relativism, and sometimes borders on Pragmatism. He does, it is true, admit intuitive certainty in the case of immediate perception and memory, and "intuitive induction." But even this seems to be endangered by his overemphasis on the alogical, irrational factors in cognition. Reason is so much a social product that it ceases to be an individual faculty revealing objective truth. The contrast between the two views is still sharper in regard to faith. With Newman, religious faith has nothing in it of venture, but is firm adhesion, unconditional assent, indefectible certitude.

The book shows a want of unity. A theory of knowledge largely based on Johnson is fitted on to a psychology mainly drawn from Ward. Theory of knowledge, it is contended, must be based on psychology; and to show what knowledge is, we must study its genesis. But a mere genetic method cannot be asked to play the part of referee regarding disputed questions of epistemology; and, as so used here, makes the impression of a dummy giving to such questions preconcerted answers. Such

a proposition as that "sense is from the first possessed of the promise and potency of thought" is not forced on us by the genetic analysis of perception. Such a method, moreover, is in danger of producing fictions as unreal as any that the author finds in Rationalism. Thus, our perception of "common" objects is held to be a development from an earlier stage when each individual apprehended only privately owned sense-objects. But such a hypothetical earlier stage is a mere fiction; and the attempt to explain the transition in the individual's mind from *his* world to *the* world is as unnecessary as it is unsuccessful.

The book abounds in informative and stimulating discussions; and even those who will disagree with many of its positions will derive profit from its extensive survey of philosophical problems.

J. SHINE.

Scripture

OUTLINES OF BIBLE KNOWLEDGE. Edited by the Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D.D., Archbishop of Milwaukee. With 49 illustrations and four maps. Freiburg: Herder. Second revised edition. 1927. 7s. 6d.

THE LAYMAN'S NEW TESTAMENT. Edited by Hugh Pope, O.P. London: Sheed & Ward. 1928. Pp. 900. 2s. 6d. (cloth), 5s. (leather).

VERBAL CONCORDANCE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. (Rheims Version). By Rev. Newton Thompson, S.T.D. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1928. 15s.

SYNOPSE DES QUATRE EVANGILES EN FRANCAIS. D'après la synopse grecque du R. P. Lagrange, O.P. Par le R. P. C. Lavergne, O.P. Paris: Gabalda. 1927. 15 fr.

VERBUM SALUTIS. Vol. III.—*Evangile selon Saint Luc*, traduit et commenté par les PP. Albert Valensin et Joseph Huby, S.J. Vol. IV.—*Evangile selon Saint Jean*, traduit et commenté par le P. Alfred Durand, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1927. 24 fr. each.

THEOLOGIE DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT. Par le R. P. Lemonnyer, O.P. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1928. 10 fr.

SAINT PAUL APOTRE DES GENTILS. Par A. Tricot. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1928. 10 fr.

READINGS IN FIRST CORINTHIANS. By C. Lattey, S.J. London and St. Louis: B. Herder. 1928. 6s.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW. Translated from the original Greek by the V. Rev. Joseph Dean, D.D. London: Longmans. 1928. 4s. (paper). 5s. (boards).

CATHOLIC literature dealing with the Bible and kindred topics has during the past few years been greatly enriched by new publications. Of these some, such as the *Etudes Bibliques* of the Dominican school of Jerusalem, are contributions to scholarship, fresh advances along the road of knowledge. Others, however scholarly their authors, are rather of the nature of helps to the study and use of the Holy Scriptures. To this latter class belongs, in the main, the group of books before me.

Dr. Messmer's work is a useful *résumé* of Biblical history, literature, geography, and archaeology, clearly printed, well illustrated, and possessing a helpful index. Its purpose is "to convey to the reader, in plain language and within narrow compass, such an amount of elementary information regarding the nature, history and contents of the Bible as it becomes every intelligent Catholic to possess." The new edition, doubtless with a view to saving space for new matter, contains only 49 illustrations as against 70 in the old. For the same reason it omits the encyclical of Leo XIII. The Rt. Rev. author has endeavoured to bring his work up to the level of recent progress in scholarship, especially in the matter of chronology.

The remainder of these volumes deal exclusively with the New Testament. Of each of them we may fairly say that it meets a definite want and fills a lacuna. Father Hugh Pope's book, to begin with, solves a problem which seemed insoluble—how to provide in a single volume a complete text of the New Testament with really helpful and up-to-date explanatory notes, and at a price accessible to all. Here we have a volume which, in spite of its 900 pages of large clear type, is quite manageable and pleasant to handle, and which costs only half-a-crown! The text is on the left-hand pages, the notes on the right, thus facilitating reference to the latter. There is an introduction to each Book, and at the end of the volume an alphabetical index to the notes.

Until Father Thompson supplied the want, there was no verbal concordance to the Rheims New Testament corresponding to the Anglican Cruden and its successors. There were excellent concordances to the Latin Vulgate. There was also a very useful work by Father T. D. Williams, entitled *Textual Concordance of Holy Scripture*, but this is a classified index of texts, not a verbal concordance. The new concordance seems a very thorough piece of work, indexing not merely important or outstanding words, but also very common words. It is clearly and neatly printed.

Another form of aid to Scripture study is a harmony (in French *synopse*) of the Four Gospels. Since the harmony edited by the Rev. Joseph Bruneau (New York: Cathedral Library Association, 1898) was allowed to go out of print, we have had no available harmony based on a Catholic version of the Gospels in English.[1] A similar *lacuna* would seem to have existed in French biblical literature. Father Lavergne's harmony is an

[1] Father Coleridge's *Vita Vitæ Nostræ* (Quarterly Series) has been, I think, even longer out of print, and was not in any case very convenient for general use.

endeavour to reproduce in French as faithfully as possible Father Lagrange's harmony of the four Gospels in Greek, published about a year ago. The work is carried out in the most scholarly way. There is first a very succinct index showing the chronological order of the events of Christ's life as arranged in the harmony. Then an index of each evangelist showing the order followed by him in relation to the order in this harmony. At the end there is a most useful alphabetical index of all the events, discourses, parables, and circumstances of our Lord's life. Throughout there are footnotes explaining and justifying the sequence followed in the harmony.

As regards the next two books on our list, it is scarcely necessary to say more than that they are the third and fourth volumes of the excellent and now well-known series of Scripture commentaries, *Verbum Salutis*. All three authors are trained theologians and professors of Sacred Scripture. Each of these volumes passed through six editions within a few months of publication. Both text and commentary are in French, the work being intended for the laity as well as for the clergy. The commentary takes the form, not of detached footnotes bristling with references and quotations, but of continuous and readable prose. Each volume has an excellent alphabetical index as well as an analytical table of contents.

The two following works are volumes of the excellent series "Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses," which aims at covering, in one hundred and two volumes of the compass and price of those under review, the whole range of Catholicism—its history, doctrine, and life. Père Lemonnyer's book aims at a systematic exposition of the New Testament teaching. It is not a dry précis, but a fresh and living presentation of Christ's teaching in three phases, as it were, *viz.*, the preaching of the Kingdom of God and its Founder as set forth chiefly in the Synoptic Gospels, the doctrine of grace and salvation as expounded by St. Paul, and the revelation of the personality of Christ as recorded throughout the New Testament, but chiefly in the Gospel of St. John. The author brings out the inner unity and coherence of the whole body of teaching.

The "Saint Paul" of A. Tricot, the young and brilliant successor of M. Mangenot at the Institut Catholique of Paris, is an outline, carefully composed and scholarly, of the missionary activities of St. Paul's life, with a concluding chapter on "le génie de Paul, son cœur, son âme." Great pains have been taken to sketch in accurately the Judaeo-Greco-Roman background

of the Apostle's life, but his teaching is to be dealt with in another volume of the series.

Some of the principal elements of this teaching are to be found set forth in Father Lattey's *Readings in First Corinthians*, a series of chapters in which the experienced professor expounds in quite untechnical language and with none of the apparatus of erudition this very important New Testament document. As the author says (p. 70), " No one can understand the full depth and solidity, nor yet the compact unity of Catholic dogma who has not studied it in St. Paul's writings." Thus to simplify and expound these writings is to do an appreciable service to Catholics at large. Possibly the average reader may find the exposition rather dry and prosaic, at least in places. The chapter (XVI) on Christian feminism is interesting. Appended to the volume is an essay (for which the present writer, for one, feels grateful) by Father Tigar, S.J., on St. Paul's doctrine of the mystical body.

Lastly, we have before us a further instalment of the Westminster Version of the Scriptures. The merits of this great work ought by this time to be sufficiently known among educated Catholics, clergy and laity. In this volume the introduction and a special appendix on " the place of memory in the composition of the Synoptic Gospels " are by Father Lattey, S.J. Here, as in other volumes, we have the translation in simple but modern English from the original Greek, the brief but satisfying explanatory notes, and the perfect typography of the Manresa Press. S. J. B.

Theology

HISTOIRE DU DOGME DE LA TRINITÉ. Des Origines au Concile de Nicée. Par Jules Lebreton. Sixième édition entièrement refondue. Vol. I. *Les Origines.* Pp. xxiv + 694. Vol. II. *De Saint Clément à Saint Irénée.* Pp. xxii + 701. Paris : Beauchesne. 1927-1928. 45 fr. each.

The wide circle of readers who have been familiar with the first of these volumes for some eighteen years will extend a cordial welcome to the long-delayed second volume, which continues the history of the dogma of the Trinity through the second century. It is to be regretted that the learned author has now abandoned his original project of carrying his history down to St. Augustine, and will content himself with a third volume on the period from St. Irenaeus to the Council of Nice. This curtailment will be a disappointment to many. No doubt the inclusion of the fourth

century would have involved a herculean task, but it would have doubled the already great value of this work by throwing much-needed light on the tangle of later Arianism.

Of this remarkable work as a whole it is difficult to give any adequate idea in a short space. A thoroughly mature erudition, skill in the manipulation of vast quantities of material, but above all soundness of historical judgment in the estimation of inter-dependence of thought in systems or individuals are some of the outstanding qualities which Professor Lebreton has brought to his immense task. There is another, more subtle, but no less important for his popularity. Like every great historian he is an artist, and possesses a lively human sympathy and dramatic sense. Such a prologue as Books 1 and 2, in the sequence in which they stand, cannot, surely, have been dictated by the exigencies of pure history, still less of chronology. The black night of Hellenic and Roman paganism of the first century A.D., with its syncretism of Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Syrian, Celtic and Iberian divinities, and its medley of Stoic and Platonist Logoi, Eons and Spirits, forms, no doubt, a peculiarly impressive opening scene: a world of mental darkness more tragic than that material chaos over which the Spirit of God brooded in the beginning.

But is this intended merely as a background? The date of Book 2 is decidedly retrogressive. We are carried back several centuries to the inspired writers of the Old Testament. These are examined with minute care, and the results, though meagre, are not wholly negative. We are made to feel that if the origins of the dogma are nowhere to be traced in pagan philosophy, the Jewish revelation at least prepares the way for it, and allows a few vivid but momentary flashes from the Light Inaccessible to pierce the gloom.

The later literature of Palestinian Judaism—apocalypses, targums, talmuds, midrashim—tends rather to increase the darkness and to impoverish its own monotheism by false reverence in making Jahve more distant, excluding His Name from the Bible and substituting such a form as the Chekina or the Memra or other colourless impersonality. Professor Lebreton's evidence here is important in curbing those modern critics who have seen in the Memra Jahve the forerunner of the Johannine conception of the Logos.

Equally convincing is his refutation of the view that the Logos of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of St. John's prologue have their ancestry in Alexandrian culture and especially in the philosophy of Philo. He does not deny all consanguinity between

them (p. 637), but he establishes by unequivocal texts the irreducible opposition between the vague, impersonal, semi-divine medium between Creator and creature, dear to the Alexandrian Jew, and the definitely personal and co-equal Word of the New Testament writers. (Notes G and J at end of volume).

The opening chapter of Vol. II, on the pagan religions of the second century, is more in place here than the corresponding chapter of Vol. I, and it leads naturally, through Gnosticism and Marcionism, to the contrasted consideration of a now fully established Christian cult. In this cult the profession by every neophyte at Baptism of the Roman or Apostolic symbol, with its tripartite division of articles on the Father, Son and Holy Ghost corresponding to the formula of Baptism, very rightly receives a capital emphasis.

The faith of the ante-Nicaean Church, as revealed in its liturgy and hymnology, is the subject of a chapter which is, perhaps, a little laboured, but the citations from various *Acta Martyrum* of the short, fervid expressions of the martyrs' faith in the midst of their torments are of primary interest and significance.

Of the treatment of the Apostolic Fathers, especially the apologists, the pages on St. Justin may be taken as typical. There is no shirking of the difficulties, no attempt to gloze over the crudities of diction and even of thought whose subordinatianist flavour was afterwards to be so agreeable to the Arian palate. But the defence is striking. Not as " un philosophe mal converti," an excessive devotee of Stoicism or Platonism, still less of Philonism, but rather as an over-zealous Christian apologist, eager to seize upon every element in pagan thought on which a Christian idea could be grafted, did Justin occasionally in the process warp both the pagan system and that Faith for which he so nobly laid down his life.

The cogency of the author's arguments is not always apparent, nor will the reader invariably share his views, *e.g.*, on the Pastor of Hermas (chap. 4); nor his interpretation of certain Scripture texts, *e.g.*, the twice repeated one of Mark x. 17-19 (I., pp. 310 and 590), to which quite an opposite sense is given by many of the Fathers.[1]

But such blemishes in no way detract from the value of a work which is eminently calculated to strike the weapons from

[1] *E.g.*, by Athan. de Inc. et cont. Arian, n. 7; Greg. Nag. Or. 30, n. 13; Basii, cont. Eunom., lib. 4, n. 3; Hilar. de Trin., lib. 9, n. 16; Ambros. de Fide, lib. 2, c. 1; Aug. Enar. in Ps. 117, n. 2.

the hands of the Church's adversaries. The learned author, who has so recently given us another valuable study,[2] deserves the thanks of all Catholics for his labours on the central dogma of our Faith. It only remains to be hoped that his work may speedily find an English translator.

P. H.

CONSCIENCE AND ITS PROBLEMS. By Kenneth E. Kirk, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Longmans. 1927. Pp. 411. 16s.

THE title of this book fairly describes its contents. The first part deals with the nature of conscience and the broad principles of casuistry; the second part applies these principles to the solution of selected moral problems.

We may say at once that the book has many points of interest for the Catholic theologian. It is in the first place another instance of the determination of the conservative minority in the Protestant Churches to salvage what they can from the wreck of the Reformation. For the first century and a half Protestant casuistry seems meagre and sporadic; at the end of the seventeenth century it died a sudden death. Hence this date marks the final emancipation of Protestant law, letters, business, politics and science from all firm, systematic, spiritual direction emanating from the Protestant Churches. The present day spectacle of a morality reduced for the most part to a Pelagian blend of gentlemanly "behaviourism," athleticism and hygiene is therefore less astonishing than pitiful, and is gradually forcing a retreat of notable Protestant elements back to the positions they occupied four centuries ago.

Next, the author's attitude towards Catholic moralists is sympathetic and respectful, and his intelligent, if not always adequate, discussion of their views will repay study. In his list of principal abbreviations seventeen authors or books are cited, and of these ten are Catholic. In the index St. Thomas and the *Corpus Iuris* are the most conspicuous authorities, while St. Alphonsus is cited as often as Jeremy Taylor. Finally, Mr. Kirk has made some contribution to the acute problem of creating a suitable theological terminology in one of the most profoundly secularised of the Aryan languages.

Looked at from the standpoint of the Catholic moralist, Mr. Kirk's book has one essential defect: it is Protestant in principle

[2] *La Vie chrétienne au premier siècle de l'Eglise.* (Grasset. 1927. 12 fr.).

and in method. In the introduction the author makes a clear declaration of faith when he speaks of the organisation of the Church of England as "that novel and providential experiment 'within the bound of true Catholicism.'" (p. XV.). And throughout the book he makes ample provision for the rights of private judgment as against all legislators, divine and human. A quotation or two will make this clear:—

No principle of conduct is "purely human"; none, on the other hand, has fallen from heaven without some measure of human enunciation. None therefore can be regarded as wholly free from the abstract possibility of error and so of re-interpretation (p. 90).

A frank and scientific revision of the Christian Code of Ethics, in accordance—as far as may be—with the mind of Christ, is a continual necessity for the Church (p. 35).

That no reasonable Christian appears to question their validity (*i.e.*, of *leges divinae* in faith and morals) is final evidence for their obligation to-day; but does it forbid the possibility of reasonable Christians legitimately questioning them to-morrow? . . . . Conformity to Scripture has always been regarded as a sure test of divine origin; but every sentence of Scripture is capable of diverse interpretations, and who is to decide between interpretations? . . . . Even the sayings of Jesus have come down to us from the pen of the evangelists; and what right have we to assume that they were always correctly reported? (p. 76).

This of course is moral—to say nothing of dogmatic—relativity recognised and accepted. Logically speaking, all morality based on such a principle is improvised, provisional, and in the last resort anarchic; and history, which respects logic, is even now working out these bitter consequences. And here, unless we are mistaken, is found the explanation of two relativist attitudes that are often misunderstood. In the first place, a moral relativist is always right: only in an absolute code of morals could he sometimes go wrong. Secondly, and as a consequence of this, when public opinion resents his action, he is liable to defend his position against the rest of the world with the most desperate casuistry. Frenchmen, Italians, and others who say both the *Credo* and the *Confiteor* do not always appreciate this humorous aspect of a system that lies, like Nietzsche's, *jenseits von Gut und Böse*. However, not all relativists carry their theory through to its uttermost consequences; and amongst these less intransigent moralists we certainly number Mr. Kirk, as well as many of his co-religionists, who will doubtless derive much profit from those concrete considerations he borrows from Catholic tradition and from the Natural Law.

D. S. N.

Shorter Notices

THE POOR CLARES IN IRELAND. By Mrs. Thomas Concannon, M.A. Dublin: Gill. 1928. 6/- net.

THIS book introduces us to quite a multitude of pious Irishwomen who, generation after generation, for 300 years, worked and prayed in Ireland, suffered too, many of them, relentless persecution for their faith, being driven out again and again from their poor dwellings, raided, deprived of their little possessions and hauled before magistrates to answer for their "superstitious practices."

The story of the Poor Clares in Ireland begins in June, 1629, when a little band of nuns, daughters of Erin, returning from convents in the Low Countries where they had been living in exile, arrived in Dublin to take up community life there. From this date Mrs. Concannon traces the various removes of the Order, to near Athlone, to Drogheda, and to Galway.

From all these places they were driven one after the other. When the Cromwellian times were over, they reassembled in Galway, and this remained their most important foundation till 1825. From "the old house in Market Street" went forth numerous colonies. One settled in Dublin in 1712. The nuns were repeatedly raided, but always they weathered the storm and continued their life of prayer and work, though it was not possible for them, during the Penal Days, either to wear religious dress or to maintain their rule of enclosure.

Lack of space forbids us to follow the fortunes of the Sisters or to give a particular account of their changes of residence in Dublin, of the branches founded in Newry, Cavan, Carlow-Graigue, and elsewhere. In 1801 some charitable Dublin workingmen had united to found a female orphan institution in the city, and this work was taken up a few years later by the Poor Clares, whose new Orphanage in Harold's Cross was opened in 1806.

Mrs. Concannon has had access to many documents preserved in the archives of convents, and to many letters written by the nuns themselves, and this has enabled her to give us most interesting glimpses of the life lived by these holy women "behind the grille," a life which to non-Catholics, and even to many of our own people, seems indeed difficult to realise.

The rule of life in the Dorset Street (Dublin) Convent during the Penal Days is minutely described by Sister Mary Josephine White. At 6 o'clock the nuns rose, and the time till 10 was passed in hearing Mass and in spiritual exercises. From 10 till 12, teaching and domestic work was engaged in. More religious exercises followed till dinner (the first meal apparently) at 3 o'clock. Next came spiritual reading, then recreation. At 5 o'clock came Matins, Lauds and other devotions in the choir; then meditation. Tea, at 7 o'clock, was followed by a short recreation and night prayers. At 10 o'clock the nuns retired to their cells, but did not go to bed till 11.

The regular habit having been, of necessity, laid aside, and only worn on very solemn occasions, the nuns dressed in black stuff gowns, black cloaks and aprons, and white mob caps.

The way in which the authoress has arranged her materials, so as to form an interesting narrative, is worthy of her already well-established literary reputation.

M. T. H.

THE ORDINARY WAYS OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE. A Treatise on Ascetic Theology according to the Principles of S. Teresa declared by the Carmelite Congress of Madrid (March, 1923). For the use of Seminaries, the Clergy and Layfolk. By Mgr. Albert Farges, Ph.D., S.T.D. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1927. 10/6.

THIS English version of Mgr. Farges's "*Les Voies Ordinaires de la Vie Spirituelle*" gives the readers in these lands who have no French an excellent work on spirituality suited for all. It contains some of Mgr. Farges's views on mysticism with which the present reviewer is not in sympathy; but they form only a small

part of the whole and in nowise detract from its value as a sound guide. Caution, even if excessive, seldom does any harm, while the lack of it fosters illusion..

This book has the great merit of being readable for the average "animalis homo." There is no pious rhetoric—or "pious tosh," as the profane world call it—but a good, live, heart-to-heart talk of the things which matter, with a practical common-sense outlook in which everyone will find something useful. The slothful and careless get jolts to make them sit up and think, while there is much to help the fervent and to encourage the timorous. It covers in a very thorough and complete fashion, as far as a moderate sized manual can, the whole field of spiritual life outside the specifically mystical domain, which Mgr. Farges restricts more than other writers, and which he has dealt with in his *Mystical Phenomena* already reviewed in *Studies*. Together the two volumes form a fine body of ascetico-mystical theology, but the average Christian will find the present more personally useful.

JOHN HOWLEY.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA OF ENGLAND. By Dr. J. Vriend, S.J. Purmerend (Holland): Muusses. 1928. Fl. 3.50.

DOGMA, it is often said, is the mother of devotion, and indeed the devout mind will often find most fruitful subjects for its contemplation in a metaphysical discussion from the pages of the "Confessions" or "The Dark Night." The same process may be reversed. Thus Fr. Vriend has written a learned dissertation upon the plays and ballads of Medieval England which can scarcely fail to interest the professional theologian. He moves with such certainty of knowledge and such clarity and reasonableness of interpretation among the curious references and citations that concern the Virgin Birth (to take only one example) as can scarcely fail to be helpful and interesting to those who are concerned with the defence or exposition of this dogma which is so much attacked to-day.

The book is evidently the result of careful and exhaustive research, and the author frequently collates already existing and published matter so as to throw fresh and bright light upon the subject in hand. Thus it greatly increases our interest in the remarkable "Ballad of the Cherry Tree," which is founded on an incident in Pseudo-Matthew, to have presented to us not only the old English version, but the modern ballad as it is sung to-day by the London carol-singers and Dr. Hyde's translation of a Mayo version, which he gathered in the original Irish from oral tradition, but which he believes—or seems to believe—came itself from the English version. On the next page we find cited from an American review the old legend in the charming form that has attained popularity, in the strictest literary sense of the term, in the New World.

Not every page makes such easy or such pleasant reading, but nearly every page contains matter no less curious and interesting. St. Ignatius' College, Amsterdam, to whose staff the book is dedicated, has every right to be proud of it, and Fr. Vriend is to be congratulated on a piece of work well worth doing and admirably done. Of the Coventry pageant, "The Shearman and Taylors," Fr. Vriend writes that the debate of the "prophets" is "not only learned but lively as well, a rare combination in a medieval poem or indeed in any poem." Perhaps the same might fairly be said against most university dissertations; but Fr. Vriend is himself another admirable exception to the rule.

M. B.

ESSAYS IN SATIRE. By Ronald A. Knox. London: Sheed & Ward. 1928. 7/6 net.

TASTES differ, but in my opinion the most entertaining essay in this volume is the Introduction. One need not agree altogether with the author's views on humour and satire—the themes with which the Introduction deals—to derive considerable pleasure and no little profit from the perusal of it. Father Knox

contends that humour is "a modern phenomenon," and that "as a force *in literature* it is struggling towards its birth in Jane Austen . . ." This is a somewhat sweeping assertion, and he makes haste to qualify it by admitting gleams of humour in Aristophanes, Shakespeare, and one or two others. Even so, he insists that those of far-off days whom we are disposed to speak of as humorists are in reality satirists. "The pure humorist," he asserts boldly, "is a man without a message"; it is for the satirist "to scourge the persistent and ever-recurrent follies of the human creature as such."

There is one human creature or one class of human creature whom the reverend author is "out" to scourge in the book under review, and that is the commentator and the higher critic. In such essays as *Studies in the Literature of Sherlock Holmes*, *The Authorship of "In Memoriam,"* and *Materials for a Bosuellian Problem* (first published, I believe, in *Studies*), he satirises those learned persons who have explored Homer and the Old Testament and discovered authorships therefor and ideas therein never hitherto suspected. He is particularly severe on the aggravating person who seeks sedulously to find hidden anagrams and to prove by such means, to cite but one instance, that Queen Victoria was the real author of *In Memoriam*.

It is a dictum of Father Knox that humour was derived out of satire but that they have little in common. Frankly, one must allow that, however skilful a satirist the reverend writer may be, his sense of humour is by no means as well developed. The essays mentioned and others that follow on these lines are remarkably clever, subtle, and highly ingenious; but, to me anyhow, they make almost as heavy reading as the kind of thing they set out to satirise. This is in compliance, of course, with the author's desire that ridicule should be taken seriously.

The essays on "*The New Sin*, *A New Cure for Religion*, and *Jottings from a Psycho-analyst's Note-Book* are satires of a more generally entertaining character, though a deplorable tendency in the first mentioned to fall back on the pun mars an otherwise excellent piece of writing. The book concludes with the "spoof" lecture on the attack on London by "the Reds," which took in such a large number of credulous creatures some years ago when given by Father Knox on the B.B.C. This is not, as the author agrees, satire. As humour it does not rank very high.

W. D.

THOMAS AQUINAS, HIS PERSONALITY AND THOUGHT. By Dr. M. Grabmann. Translated by Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B., Ph.D. London: Longmans. 1928. IX+191 pp. 10/6.

ST. THOMAS D'AQUIN. By Professor E. de Bruyne of the University of Ghent. Paris: Beauchesne. 1927. 344 pp. 30 fr.

THERE are three principal ways of interpreting St. Thomas. One is to let St. Thomas interpret himself by means of a dialectical commentary in which the movement of thought is reduced to strict form and obscure passages are cleared up by a comparison of parallel texts. The second way is the historic-genetic one, which seeks the meaning of the text in the historical context. The third, which seems to most of us the only adequate method, is a combination of these two. Both books are examples on a minor scale of this historic-dialectical method from slightly different angles. Professor Grabmann's *Thomas Aquinas* is of course the work of one of the leading historians of Scholasticism and Thomism. Though a slight volume in size, it is to be commended as an authoritative and well balanced account of St. Thomas's times and doctrine by a master who knows both from within. Professor de Bruyne is an exponent of the same method. His *S. Thomas d'Aquin*, if less original and less incisive—though the latter is rather a defect of style than of thought—is a more leisurely and comprehensive introduction to St. Thomas and an excellent *mise au point* of Thomist doctrinal and historical research of the last thirty years.

D. S. N.

LE POINT DE DEPART DE LA METAPHYSIQUE. Par J. Maréchal, S.J. Cahier I. De l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Age: La Critique ancienne de la Connaissance. Deuxième édition. Louvain: Museum Lessianum. 1927. 20 fr.

This second edition of the first volume of Fr. Maréchal's important work contains one important change. The chapters dealing with the philosophy of Duns Scotus have been altered and much amplified. The reason for this change is partly the increased interest in Scotus, but chiefly the fact that, since the first edition appeared (1922), the author has become convinced, through the studies of the Franciscan scholar, Dr. Longpré, that the *De rerum principio* and the *Theoremata*, both traditionally ascribed to Scotus, are not authentic. The doctrines contained in these works are, however, akin to those of the master, and are useful for seeing his views, as it were, in an enlarging mirror. Fr. Maréchal, accordingly, whose aim is not so much to present the exact views of Duns Scotus as to show the general character and tendency of the Scotist philosophy, draws from these two works as well as from the authentic works. His detailed critical exposition of the Scotist theory of knowledge, extending over more than seventy pages, is highly instructive and valuable.

J. S.

ERMITES ET RECLUS. Par Dom Louis Gougaud. Abbaye Saint-Martin de Ligugé. 1928. pp. 144.

Dom Gougaud's new book, interesting and scholarly like every work that issues from his pen, is devoted to the mediæval solitaries. Two classes of these may be distinguished: those who lived in the open air, far away from the haunts of men (the hermits or anchorites strictly so called), and those who lived in voluntary seclusion within the narrow confines of a cell or cells (the so-called *reclusi* or *inclusi*). The book has thus two parts, one for each class. The first part tells of the canonical position of hermits, their connection with the clergy, their mode of existence, their asceticism and their relations with the world; whilst a final chapter deals with the humbugs of the profession. In the second part, which deals with the *inclusi*, the same excellent line of treatment is followed. The weaker sex, excluded for obvious reasons from the anchoretical way of life, are well represented in the second class.

Dom Gougaud's sources of information are abundant and varied, not merely the lives of saints, annals, histories, liturgies and other Latin texts, but also the mediæval literature in the national languages—French, German, Irish and English. Being a common figure in the mediæval world, the hermit has a prominent place in the *chansons de geste* and similar tales. Irishmen, very naturally, will find particular interest in the pages which treat of the hermits and *inclusi* of their own race; and these are among the earliest devotees of solitude in Europe.

J. R.

THE ADVENT EPISTLES AND GOSPELS. Homiletically Explained by the Rt. Rev. Paul William von Keppler, late Bishop of Rottenburg. Translated by the Rev. Hamilton Macdonald. London: Sands. 1928. 6/-.

Dr. von Keppler holds strong views on Catholic preaching, views which he expresses in the introduction to this book, but which will be found more fully set forth in his *Homiletic Thoughts and Counsels* (Herder, 1927). On the whole he looks with disfavour on the style of preaching that is prevalent in our times. The chief flaw that he finds in it is its dissociation from Scripture, which is "not only the divinely ordained source of the faith of the Church, but also the model book of instruction, the storehouse of material, the school of form, and the directory of preaching." The remedy for this defect is a return to the homily, which "has for a century been as good as dead." This book, he tells us, is "a first attempt in the practical exercise of writing homilies," in other words practical expositions of some definite passage of Holy Scripture, with special

reference to its liturgical use. What the author gives us here is not actual sermons or homilies, but rather suggestions and materials and outlines for preaching during Advent. Throughout the Bishop is obviously addressing not the faithful but their pastors. S. J. B.

DANTA DE. By Una Ní Ogain and Riobard O Duibhir. Dublin: Fallon. 1928. 5/-.

"HYMNS to God, ancient and modern" is the scope of this book. Only hymns to God are included, as the compiler, the late Una Ní Ogain, expressed the hope that some other enthusiast would collect the hymns to Our Lady and the Saints, and thus give us a representative collection of our Irish hymns and sacred poetry. This collection extends from the time of St. Patrick to the present day. Practically every age is represented; and all, except "Adeste Fideles" and "Sancti Venite" (which have been translated from the Latin by Dr. Hyde), are original Irish poems and hymns

The arrangement of the book follows the usual order. We have hymns for Morning and Evening, including a version of "Te Lucis Ante Terminum." Then we have hymns for Advent, several of which could also be used during Lent. The Christmas hymns afford an interesting contrast with English Christmas Carols. These hymns could scarcely be called "carols." For the most part they express ideas concerning the Divinity rather than the Humanity of Our Lord, resembling in this the Breviary Hymns. But when we come to the hymns for Lent we find there real Folk-Hymns that can only have sprung from the strong faith and devotion of the people. The whole burden of these hymns is the suffering endured by Our Lord. For sheer beauty of expression and tenderness of feeling "Caoine Mhuire" (38), must rank among the greatest Passion hymns. Inevitably we were reminded of the "Stabat Mater." Among the Easter hymns is an Irish form of the French cantique "O Filii et Filiae." Hymns for Pentecost and Trinity are followed by hymns to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Sacred Heart. National hymns, hymns in praise of God, nature hymns, and hymns for the Week complete this fine collection. There is also a very interesting group of hymns which were sung by the people during Mass, suggesting an Irish form of "Missa Cantata."

The music for these hymns has been taken from various sources. Several have their own tunes to which they have always been sung; others have been set to tunes from Petrie, Joyce, and smaller collections. Seven tunes have been borrowed from the Scottish Highlands. Professor O'Dwyer's harmonies bring out excellently the native idiom of the melodies.

We may be allowed one growl. It is frequently difficult to determine to which note a syllable belongs. This can only be remedied by employing a more up-to-date method of music-printing, and should a second edition be demanded we would urge that this be done. Beyond this we have nothing but praise for this book. S.C.L.

A COMPENDIUM OF CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION. Edited by the Right Rev. Mgr. John Hagan, Rector, Irish College, Rome. Four Volumes: Pp. 550, 547, 584, 551. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1928. 52s. 6d. per set: 15s. per volume.

THE 1928 re-issue of Monsignor Hagan's well-known and most serviceable work retains all the dignity of form and of internal presentation which characterised the first Dublin issue, while at the same time the four volumes are made handier for the teacher and the student. The great impulse given to catechetical studies under Pope Pius X has been still further amplified and deepened by the present Pope, as his Instructions of 1923 and 1926 most fully prove. The seventy introductory pages to the first volume exhibit the plan, structure, and aims of Father Angelo Raineri's commentary

on the Roman Catechism, from which the substance of this series of volumes is derived. Their appreciative purchasers will not share Mgr. Hagan's feeling that this translation and adaptation will "read cold" in comparison with the original. Practical workers will rather appreciate the diminution of oratorical fervour, and they certainly will approve of what is in the Preface termed "toning down." These four volumes should be in every Irish catechist's collection of professional treatises; and they are certain to find wide favour in other lands. T. C.

Books also received :—

ADAM, DR. KARL ... The Spirit of Catholicism. Translated from the German by Dom Justin McCann. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

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ALES, ADHEMAR ... De Sanctissima Eucharistia. (Beauchesne, pp. 176).

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BRUN, PADRAIG DE ... Oidiopús i gColon. (Cuallacht Chuilm Cille, 2/-).

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Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. VII. The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome. (Cambridge University Press, 37/6).
Census of Population, 1926. Vol. VII.—Religions and Birthplaces. Compiled by the Department of Industry and Commerce. (Stationery Office, 2/3).
Eriu—Vol. X. Part II. (Hodges, Figgis, 9/-)
The Catholic Directory, 1929. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 3/6).
Aux Jeunes Filles. Par une ancienne Institutrice. (Aubanel Frères, 3 fr. 30).
St. Wilfrid. By two Sisters of Notre Dame de Namor. (Sands, 3/6).
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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 28th day of January, 1929.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1928, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£52,284	5	10
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	34,578	16	9
	£86,863	2	7
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment (subject to deduction of Income Tax) of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half, per cent. per annum, (£31,250), and a Bonus of One per cent. (£5,000) for the year 1928	36,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500	0	0
To next Account	33,113	2	7
	£86,863	2	7

The Reserve Fund now stands at £650,000.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN and MR. PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 14th January, 1929.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1928. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	650,000	0	0
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,832,207	13	0
,, Sundry Agents	24,611	11	0
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	8,943	5	7
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £86,863 2 7			
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0			
	76,863	2	7
	£13,092,625	12	2

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	766,380	15	4
,, Investments, viz.:—			
War Loan and other Government Stocks	5,077,876	6	1
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	181,815	11	3
	6,026,072	12	8
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,838,550	2	11
,, Sundry Agents	15,154	14	2
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	212,848	2	5
	£13,092,625	12	2

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1928.

	£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	97,376	17	1
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1929, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ 31,250 0 0			
,, Bonus of 1% for Year 1928, do. 5,000 0 0			
,, Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 33,113 2 7			
	76,863	2	7
	£184,239	19	8

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account ...	34,578	16	9
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	149,661	2	11
	£184,239	19	8

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1928, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 14th January, 1929. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

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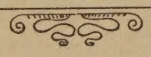

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